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THE

LIFE

OF

HAFIZ OOL-MOOLK, HAFIZ REHMUT KHAN,

WRITTEN BY HIS SON,

THE

NUWAB MOOST'UJAB KHAN BUHADOOR,

AND ENTITLED

GOOLISTAN-I-REHMUT.

ABRIDGED AND TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN,

BY

CHARLES ELLIOTT, ESQ.

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INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH the name of Hafiz Rehmut Khan is familiar to most persons in India, few are acquainted with any particulars of his history; and I think it probable that the following memoir, written by his son the Nuwab Moostujab Khan, may not prove wholly uninteresting.

In the original, many trivial occurrences are noticed, which I have altogether omitted; and the repeated encomiums lavished by the Nuwab on the generosity and intrepidity of his lamented parent, though honourable to his feelings as a son, would be deemed extravagant by the generality of readers, and indeed would scarcely admit of translation.

A residence of many years in Rohilcund, where the memory of Hafiz Rehmut is held in the highest veneration, may perhaps have led

me to attach a greater degree of importance to the work than it merits; but as Hafiz acted a distinguished part on the theatre of India for thirty years, and was personally engaged in almost every great action fought during that time, his life may furnish some materials to aid in the compilation of a history of that period: and with this view, I have taken considerable pains to correct some chronological errors in the original.

It is necessary to add, that Mr. Hamilton's History of the Rohillas will in some parts be found at variance with this narrative; that gentleman appears to have derived his information from the friends of the Nuwab of Oude, who would not be disposed to speak favourably of Hafiz Rehmut Khan; and as that work was published about the time of Mr. Hastings's trial, it might have been intended to frame an excuse for his permitting a British army to join in the attack on Hafiz in 1774.

C. E.

Bareilly,
1814.

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LIFE

OF

HAFIZ OOL-MOOLK, HAFIZ REHMUT KHAN, &c. &c.

THE family of Hafiz Rehmut Khan trace their descent from the patriarch Abraham; their immediate ancestor, Sheikh Shahab-ood-deen, Budul zâee, being descended from Budul, third son of Bahrytch, who was the son of Shuruf-ood-deen, the son of Surra, the son of Kys, Abd-ool-Rasheed, a descendant from Afghân, who was the son of Armeea, the son of Saul, who was descended from Benjamin, the youngest son of Jacob.(a)

Sheikh Shahab-ood-deen, Budul zâee, was born in the village of Pusheen Shorawuk, in the province of Kandahar, which is the original settlement of the tribe of Bahrytch; in his youth, he visited Attock and Lungurkote, where some families of the same tribe resided, and from among them he selected his bride: his usual abode was in the hilly country, called "Chych Hizarra," though he occasionally visited "Simma," or the plains. He was in the habit of passing many successive days in the woods, engaged in devotional exercises, and fre-

(a) See Notes at the end of the Memoir.

quently would not return home till sought by his family. On account of his sanctity, he obtained the appellation of Sheikh Kôtee Bâbâ: he wrote a book entitled "Kholasut-ool-Insâb," a genealogical history of the families of the Afghans, and died in Chych Hizarra, where his remains were interred near to the village of Shahee-wyr.

As the object of this history is to narrate the life of Hafiz Rehmut Khan, it is not necessary to notice any particulars relative to Pâee Khan, and Adum Khan, the two elder sons of Kôtee Bâbâ. His third son, Muhmood Khan, became "sujadda nisheen," or officiating priest, and took the name of "Sheikh Moottee," fixing his residence at Tooroo and Shahamutpore. The example set by the father of continued devotion to spiritual exercises, was strictly followed by the son, and his character was held in high veneration by the whole of the Afghâns.

Sheikh Moottee had five sons, *viz.* Azâd Khan, Shâhdâd Khan, Hukeem Khan, Hussun Khan, and Shah Alum Khan, which last was the father of Hafiz Rehmut Khan.

On the death of Sheikh Moottee, and consequent division of his property among his sons, a slave named Dâood fell to the share of Shah Alum Khan, who educated him as his own son, and after some years committed to his charge the management of the family estates; but Dâood being an aspiring character, deter-

mined to seek his fortune in Hindoostan, and quitting his master proceeded to Kutheir, or Rohilkund.

On the death of Buhadoor Shah, in the year 1118 of the Hejirtee (corresponding with 1707 of the Christian era), in consequence of the disputes between his sons for the succession to the throne, the reins of government became relaxed, and a body of the principal Zemeendars, of the caste called "Kutheireea," took possession of the province of Kutheir, and though they paid some small sums to the Jagheerdars, they entirely withheld the tribute due to the royal treasury Daood with a few other Afghans reached Kutheir at this period, and entering the service of the rebel Zemeendars, after some time found himself at the head of two hundred men, when he joined Mudar Shah, Zemeendar of Mudka in pergunnah Burseir, in the province of Buddawun.

As these Zemeendars were constantly in hostility with each other, each striving to possess himself of another's estate, Mudar Shah despatched Daood with his party to attack the village of Bankowlee, in pergunnah Chow Méhla, in which expedition Daood obtained a large booty, and took many prisoners. Among these was a boy, seven or eight years of age, of the Jhaut cast, to whom Daood became attached, and having caused him to be circumcised, he adopted him as his son, and gave him the name of Ullee Mahomed Khan.

The rumour of Daood Khan's success in Hindoostan induced Shah Alum Khan, after the lapse of several

years, to visit Kutheir, where he was received with great kindness, and dismissed with a present of 2000 rupees. Some five or six years after this, Shah Alum Khan a second time visited Kutheir, and was urgent with Daood to quit the service of Mudar Shah, and return with him to the Punjab; but as in this interval Daood had obtained possession of several valuable villages, he refused; and told his master that he expected shortly to make himself lord of the whole province of Kutheir: in anticipation of which event he offered to Shah Alum Khan for his freedom, an annual payment of 2000 rupees; this offer was however declined, and Shah Alum Khan commenced his journey homeward.

Daood Khan had purchased some horses from merchants at Shahjehanabad, for which he had neglected to pay the stipulated price, and the merchants, knowing the influence which Shah Alum Khan possessed, seized and confined him on his arrival at Delhi; nor would they liberate him, though he offered to leave with them all his own property as a pledge for the payment of the debt. Weary of confinement, in the month of Ramzan, on the twenty-seventh night, which is called the "Shub-i-kudr" (or night of power), Shah Alum Khan passed the whole night in prayer, and in the morning the horse merchants of their own accord released him: when he returned to Kutheir, procured the money from Daood Khan, and having remitted it to the merchants, renewed his intreaties that Daood would return with him to the

Punjab. Daood being determined not to quit Kutheir, and anxious to rid himself of Shah Alum Khan's importunity, laid a plan to murder him: but as his purpose could not be effected openly on account of the number of relations and friends by whom Shah Alum Khan was surrounded, Daood engaged four persons to perpetrate the deed privately, by night.

At this period the Aumil of Buddawun (who was there on the part of Mahomed Khan Bungish, the Nuwab of Furrukhabad) invited Daood Khan with three hundred of his followers to join him in attacking some Zemeendars in that vicinity, and Shah Alum Khan accompanied the party on their march; when on the night of Friday the 9th of Zilhaije, the four ruffians hired by Daood entered Shah Alum Khan's tent, and murdered him as he lay asleep. Of these ruffians, two were Hindoos and two Afghans; the two former were absconding from the village, when they fell in with a gang of thieves, who supposing them to be the village watchmen, sent in pursuit of their gang, attacked and slew them; of the two Afghans, one was killed in action on the following day, and the other became a leper, in which horrid state he survived several years, shunned by every one.

About twelve months after this occurrence, Daood Khan quitted the service of Mudar Shah, and was entertained by Débee Chund the Rajah of Kumaoon, who placed under his command the force stationed in the

pergunnahs at the foot of the hills. Azmut oolla Khan was about this time sent from Delhi with a body of the royal troops to take possession of Kasheepore and Roodurpore, and the Rajah marched with his army from Almorah to support Daood Khan; but Daood had in the interim taken a bribe from Azmut oolla Khan, and in the first action he deserted his master, and with the whole of his followers quitted the field. The Rajah was necessarily defeated, and Daood not satisfied with mere treachery, actually made an attempt to seize the person of his master as a hostage for the payment of the arrears due to the troops, but in this attempt he was foiled by the fidelity of the hill people. The Rajah retreated to Kakurdurra, and pretending ignorance of Daood's treachery, invited him to attend, to receive his arrears of pay. Daood fell into the snare, and on reaching Kakurdurra was put to death by order of the Rajah, as were all those who accompanied him.

Mullik Shadee Khan (son of Shahdad Khan, the second son of Sheikh Moottee) and Suddur Khan, the two principal surdars under Daood, placed Ullee Mahomed Khan in command of the forces, which were then entertained in the service of Azmut oolla Khan, who after settling the pergunnahs of Kasheepore and Roodurpore, fixed his residence at Mooradabad.

Tranquillity being established, the troops were permitted to return to their respective homes, and Ullee Mahomed Khan availed himself of this interval of

leisure to take possession of Daood Khan's jagheer at Nibbia bowlee. He had succeeded in obtaining the friendship of Azmut oolla Khan, and of his son Moyin-ood-deen-Khan, the hâkim (or governor) of Bareilly, and enjoying the favour of these two persons with the possession of a handsome independence, several years passed without any interruption of his happiness. At length Mahomed Salé, a Khôja Serace, obtained a sunnud from the king for the farm of pergunnah Munona, and being supported by the court, the zemeendars and jagheerdars agreed to pay whatever he chose to demand. Conceiving that he could do what he pleased, and being perhaps jealous of the influence possessed by Ullee Mahomed Khan, he called upon him to resign the estate of Nibbia bowlee. Ullee Mahomed offered to pay any increase of rent which the eunuch might ask; but as nothing short of the entire resignation of the lands would satisfy him, Ullee Mahomed applied for advice to his friend Azmut-oolla Khan, who told him to act as he thought proper: this was considered by Ullee Mahomed as an indirect advice to make away with the eunuch; he therefore returned to Nibbia bowlee, and having assembled his followers, marched at their head to Munona, attacked Mahomed Salé's camp, put him to death, plundered his property, and took possession of the pergunnah.

The town of Owlah was held by a powerful zemeendar named Dooja, with whom Ullee Mahomed had long

been at variance, but whom he did not dare openly to attack; he therefore caused him to be privately murdered, when the Afghans took possession of the town; and Ullee Mahomed felt his authority so firmly established, that he ventured to send his vakeels to Delhi to solicit a sunnud from the king, promising at the same time punctually to remit the tribute due to his majesty, and to make good the rents payable to the jagheerdars.

At this time the royal troops were sent under the command of Azeem-oolla Khan, to attack Syf-ood-deen Mahomed Khan, (brother of Hussun Ullee Khan and Abdoolla Khan, the Syyuds of Barrah, who had put out the eyes of the Emperor Furokhsére), in consequence of his having refused to present himself at court: and furmâns were issued to the aumils of Kutheir, Shahjihanpoor and Shahabad to join Azeem-oolla Khan with their respective forces. The vizier Kummur-ood-deen Khan also wrote to Ullee Mahomed Khan, directing him to join the king's troops; and he, anxious to evince his zeal in the royal cause, immediately commenced his march without waiting the arrival of the Aumils. In the battle of Jânset his bravery was conspicuous: and as his party had been opposed to the force commanded by Syf-ood-deen Mahomed Khan in person, and proved victorious, killing Syf-ood-deen, the vizier obtained for Ullee Mahomed the title of Nuwab, with permission to use the *nôbut* (or great drum), and reduced the amount

of the revenue payable by him to the royal treasury as a reward for his services.

On the death of Azmut oolla Khan, which occurred soon after the battle of Jânset, Meer Ahmed Khan was appointed Aumil of Mooradabad, and he confirmed to Ullee Mahomed Khan the several pergunnahs then held by him.

Hafiz Rehmut Khan was born in the latter end of the reign of Buhadoor Shah, and was four years old when his father, Shah Alum Khan, was basely murdered by Daood Khan, in the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Furokhsére. In his fifth year he commenced the perusal of the koran under the tuition of Hafiz Mahomed Janna, and at the age of ten years had, in addition to the koran, read many learned works.

Ullee Mahomed Khan had repeatedly invited Hafiz Rehmut Khan to visit Kutheir, and the fame of his increasing power after the battle of Jânset, induced him now to accept the invitation. The produce of the sale of his father's property left at Delhi, had been remitted to him by Mullik Shadee Khan, and with it he purchased some horses in Budukshân, and disposed of them at Delhi on his route to Kutheir. At Owlah, Hafiz Rehmut was received by Ullee Mahomed Khan with the greatest respect, and the Afghans vied with each other in paying him attention. One day, when in the bath, Ullee Mahomed addressed Hafiz Rehmut in the following terms: "Daood Khan caused your father,

"Shah Alum Khan, to be murdered; and although I "am not his son, yet as he adopted me, and made me "heir to all his property, I am anxious to release him "from your claim to retaliation in a future state." Then laying his sword at the feet of Hafiz, he continued: "If *kisâs** be your desire, take my life—if *deeyut*† will "satisfy you, I am ready to pay whatever sum you "require; but if you neither require *kisâs* nor *deeyut*, "grant me your free pardon for the blood which has "been shed." To which Hafiz replied, that as Ullee Mahomed was not descended from Daood, he could not claim *kisâs*, and considered it beneath him to accept the price of blood. He concluded by assuring Ullee Mahomed of his readiness to grant the pardon solicited, adding, that he should never have visited Ullee Mahomed, had he not known his innocence of any participation in the foul crime. From this time a strict intimacy subsisted between Ullee Mahomed and Hafiz Rehmut; but after a lapse of three years, the latter quitted Kutheir, taking with him a letter from Mullik Shadee Khan, directing his brother to give his daughter in marriage to Hafiz, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great pomp at Hafiz's own village, Shahamutpore, where he continued to reside.

After some years Hafiz Rehmut paid a second visit to Ullee Mahomed at Owlah, and was again received by him with distinguished honours. It happened that Ullee

* Retaliation. † The price of blood.

Mahomed, dissatisfied with the conduct of two of his jemadars, had ordered them to be shot: the sentence appearing to Hafiz unjust, he remonstrated against its execution, which so irritated the chief that he made use of some harsh language to Hafiz, which induced the latter to threaten an appeal to the sword; and fearing that with so violent a character as Ullee Mahomed this breach could not be made up, he prepared to return home. Ullee Mahomed, however, had learned to appreciate the value of so firm a friend, and so judicious an adviser as Hafiz Rehmut, and could not without regret contemplate his departure; he therefore intreated him to remain, and at length by the intervention of mutual friends the quarrel was made up on certain conditions: after which Hafiz was rendered independent by the cession of twelve villages, and the appointment of a number of *russaladars** to attend him whenever their services might be required.

As Hafiz Rehmut now considered himself settled in Kutheir, he took advantage of the tranquillity which existed after the return of Nadir Shah from Hindoostan, to send for his family from Shahamutpore, and a proper escort being despatched, his mother, wife, and a sister three years younger than himself, arrived in safety at Owlah.

By this time the power of Ullee Mahomed Khan had greatly increased by the acquisition of large farms in Ritcha and the adjoining pergunnahs; and the jag-

* Cavalry officers commanding troops.

heerdars being dissatisfied with his conduct towards them, laid their complaints before the Emperor Mahomed Shah, who sent Rajah Hurnund with fifty thousand horse and foot, to expel Ullee Mahomed from Kutheir. This army arrived at Mooradabad, whence the Rajah issued orders to Abdool Nubbee Khan, the Aumil of Bareilly and Shahabad, to join him with all possible expedition Abdool Nubbee advised the Rajah not to be in haste to give battle, as he had received from Ullee Mahomed repeated proposals for an amicable adjustment of the present differences, and doubted not that on his arrival every thing would be settled to the Rajah's satisfaction: but Hurnund refused to listen to this advice, and declared his intention of expelling the whole of the Afghans from the country. With this determination, and accompanied by Dillér Khan (the brother of Abdool Nubbee), the Rajah marched from Mooradabad, and Ullee Mahomed having advanced from Owlah at the head of twelve thousand men, the two armies encamped within three koss of each other, at the villages of Dâl and Jâree, on the banks of the Urrul Nuddee. On the following morning, Ullee Mahomed sent in advance four thousand chosen men under the command of Hafiz Rehmut. Doondee Khan commanded the right wing, consisting of two thousand men, and Pâinda Khan commanded the left wing, while Ullee Mahomed and the other surdars took post in the centre. Rajah Hurnund (who was in the habit of

drinking intoxicating liquors, and amusing himself with dancing girls) though repeatedly urged by Diller Khan to mount his horse, and place himself at the head of his troops, delayed till the advance under Hafiz Rehmut had penetrated his camp and made good their way to his tent; and he was just seated in his saddle when a rocket struck him in the breast and killed him on the spot. Mootee loll, the Rajah's son, endeavoured to recover the day, but was soon numbered among the slain, and the whole of the Rajah's troops then took to flight, except a small band under Dillér Khan, who perished sword in hand. Abdool Nubbee on hearing of the Rajah's defeat, and the death of his brother Diller Khan, vowed not to survive him, and with only five hundred followers proceeded towards the scene of action: but most of these men knowing the desperate enterprise on which he was engaged, forsook him on the way, and on reaching the field he could only number fifty men. Ullee Mahomed was conversing with his surdars, and the troops were engaged in plundering the Rajah's camp, when Abdool Nubbee made his appearance, and seeing such a small party, no idea of an attack was entertained, consequently many of Ullee Mahomed's followers were laid low before Abdool Nubbee was slain.

The plunder of Rajah Hurnund's own tent was taken by Ullee Mahomed, who after returning thanks for the victory, despatched his Aumils to Mooradabad, Sumbul, Shahabad, and Shahjehanpore, and the several per-

gunnahs dependent on Bareilly; but did not take possession of the town itself till some time afterwards; when having obtained a sunnud from the king, he was proclaimed Hâkim of Kutheir. Under the orders of Ullee Mahomed, the pergunnah of Pillibheet was wrested from Daisput Bunjarra by Pâinda Khan, and added to the jaghire of Hafiz Rehmut.

Two years after the defeat of Rajah Hurnund, Doolee Chund, a relation of the Rajah of Kumaoon, (who, for some offence had been punished with the loss of his nose, ears, and hands, by Rajah Kullian Chund, the son of Rajah Débee Chund), solicited the aid of Ullee Mahomed Khan: who glad of an opportunity to avenge the murder of his patron Daood Khan, readily complied with Doolee Chund's request. The army assembled for this expedition was placed under the command of Hafiz Rehmut, Doondé Khan, Pâinda Khan, and Bukshee Surdar Khan; and Doolee Chund accompanied them to point out the best route. The troops advanced to Roodurpore, where an action took place, in which the Rajah's forces being defeated, fled for refuge to the Fort of Burrokhuree. Hafiz Rehmut left an Aumil at Roodurpore, and then continued his march to Burrokhuree, where the Afghans were again victorious, and the Rajah's troops then fled to Almorah. Bukshee Surdar Khan being of an advanced age, found himself unequal to the fatigue of ascending the hills, and remained at Burrokhuree, while the army under Hafiz Rehmut proceeded on its route: and notwith-

standing that the Rajah had adopted numberless measures to increase the natural difficulties of the country, and to retard the progress of the invaders, by the zealous exertions of the troops these were all surmounted, and the town of Almorah invested, when the Rajah fled to Gurhwal, and the province of Kumaoon was taken possession of by the Afghans. This event occurred in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Mahomed Shah, and the year 1154 of the Hejiree. The Mahomedans destroyed all the images of the infidels, melted down their gold and silver ornaments, and slew cows in their streets.

Ullee Mahomed Khan being highly delighted at the successful result of this expedition, sent splendid presents to Hafiz Rehmut; and after four months, himself visited his new conquest, when he made liberal donations to the troops.

After some time Rajah Kullian Chund, aided by the Rajah of Gurhwal, made an attempt to recover his country, and Ullee Mahomed marched from Almorah to give him battle; but on seeing the Mahomedan army, the infidels took to flight, and the Afghans plundered their camp. The conquest of Sirinuggur was proposed, but Ullee Mahomed was induced to relinquish this attempt, on the Rajah's consenting to acknowledge himself a vassal, to pay an annual tribute of sixty thousand rupees, and engaging not to afford protection to Rajah Kullian Chund.

The province of Kutheir requiring the presence of the governor, only a few months were passed by Ullee Mahomed at Almorah; he then gave Kumaoon to a relation of Kullian Chund's, and leaving only a small force in the Fort of Burrokhuree, returned home.

In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Mahomed Shah (1155 Hejiree) that monarch, at the instigation of the Nuwab Abdool Munsoor Khan Sufdur Jung, assembled a large army for the expulsion of the Afghans from Kutheir, and on hearing of this, Ullee Mahomed Khan proposed to take refuge at Almorah, but was dissuaded from this measure by the Nuwab Kaim Khan (son of Mahomed Khan Bungish), who urged that his departure would infallibly prove the loss of the country. His advice was taken, and Ullee Mahomed remained at Owlah until the royal army had crossed the Ganges and encamped at Sumbul, when he threw himself into the Fort of Bungurh, five koss distant from Owlah, and which for a distance of two koss is surrounded by jungle: from thence he sent letters to Kaim Khan, and to the Vizier Kummurood-deen Khan, setting forth that it was not his intention to offer any resistance to the mandates of the king, and intreating that he might be admitted to the royal presence; but Sufdur Jung and others of his party had so inflamed the king's mind, that all the exertions of the vizier in his behalf were insufficient to obtain for him the honour of an audience. Sufdur Jung and Kaim Khan advanced with their

contingents to the skirts of the jungle, and during several days skirmishes took place between them and the Afghans, but the royal army was too numerous to be opposed in the field, and the Afghan sirdars dismayed at their situation, either retired to their homes, or went over to the king; among the latter was Pâinda Khan; and Ullee Mahomed finding it useless to hold out, delivered himself up to his monarch, who out of regard to the vizier granted his pardon, and placed Ullee Mahomed under his charge. Mahomed Shah appointed Budur Islam Khan, and Fureed-ood-deen Khan (the son of Azmut-oolla Khan) Aumils of Kutheir, and then returned with his army to Delhi, taking Ullee Mahomed Khan in his suite.

In about six months Ullee Mahomed's prospects again brightened, and the vizier having promised to obtain for him a command in Sirhind, he directed Hafiz Rehmut to assemble his forces and proceed to Delhi. Seven thousand horse and foot were soon collected, and at the head of these Hafiz entered the imperial city, but five months more elapsed ere the appointment passed the royal signet. Ullee Mahomed Khan was then introduced to the presence by the vizier, was decorated with a khelat (or dress of honour), and appointed Aumil of Sirhind, for which place he set out in the twenty-eighth year of his majesty's reign, leaving his sons Fyzoolla Khan and Abdoolla Khan at Delhi, as hostages for his future good conduct.

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On reaching Sirhind, Ullee Mahomed summoned the refractory Zemeendars, Bhalha Jaut, Bharra-mull of Roypore, Roygulla, Nigahee-mull chief of Joutpore, and others to attend him, and to pay the arrears of revenue due from them, on pain of expulsion from their estates; to which summons they indignantly answered, that they were a different class of people from those whom he had subjugated in Kutheir; that if he were disposed to follow the example of his predecessors in office, they would make a reasonable settlement, but if not, they were ready to meet him in the field. Ullee Mahomed Khan was so enraged at this message, that he would immediately have marched against them in person, but was persuaded to permit Hafiz Rehmut to make the first trial of strength with them: accordingly Hafiz, accompanied by Doondé Khan and other Russaladars, at the head of three thousand horse and foot marched to Roypore to attack Bharra-mull, who had assembled about twelve thousand men to oppose him. The Afghans divided into four parties and surrounded the village, while Hafiz in person attacked the fort with five hundred chosen men. The simultaneous attack of these five divisions so distracted the villagers that they left the gate open, and the fort being entered by the Afghans, Bharra-mull's followers were defeated with a great slaughter. The plunder found in the fort was considerable, and two thousand five hundred persons were made prisoners.

Jumâl Khan Malléree with five hundred men having joined Hafiz Rehmut, the combined force marched to Joutpore and defeated the forces of Nigahee Mull, taking him prisoner: when the arrear of revenue, amounting to sixty-five thousand rupees, was immediately discharged.

Roygulla, the principal Zemeendar, being in possession of a strong fortress, the force under Hafiz was considerably increased ere he proceeded to attack it. While the Afghans were yet distant a day's march, Roygulla took to flight, leaving the defence of the fort to his brother Mukhun, who held out for two days, but surrendered when preparations were made for a storm. Roygulla, on hearing of this disaster, consented to pay the arrear demanded, of one million thirty thousand rupees, besides giving up to the captors the treasure found in the fort. After these examples Ullee Mahomed found no difficulty in realizing the revenue of the province.

In the thirtieth year of the reign of Mahomed Shah, Ahmed Shah Douranee, (who after the murder of Nadir Shah had established himself in the government of Kandahar, marched towards Hindoostan; he was opposed by the governor of Lahore, Shahneewaz Khan, but soon took possession of the city, when the governor fled to Delhi. The emperor was at this time confined by indisposition, and as it was necessary immediately to oppose the advance of the Shah, the royal army was

placed under the command of the prince Ahmed (son of Mahomed Shah), who marched from Delhi in the month of Mohurrum, 1161 Hejiree, attended by the Vizier Kummur-ood-deen Khan, Sufdur Sung, Salabut Khan, and Eeshree Sing, the son of Jyesing, the Kuchwahar prince.

As Ullee Mahomed Khan was at this time at the head of twenty thousand men in the province of Sirhind, Mahomed Shah suspected that he might be induced to join the Douranee; and to guard against such an event, he appointed him to the government of Kutheir; for which province he immediately set out.

Ahmed Shah was not insensible to the advantages which might be derived from the accession of Ullee Mahomed Khan's force to his cause, and had endeavoured to seduce him from his allegiance by the offer of the Vizarut; but though urged by many of his sirdars to accept the offer, he remained faithful to his sovereign.

The royal army having advanced to Sirhind, the Vizier Kummur-ood-deen Khan placed Abdoolla and Fyzoolla, the two sons of Ullee Mahomed Khan, and all his valuable property in the fort at that place; and encamped about ten koss to the northward, near to the village of Mannoopore. After three days skirmishing, Ahmed Shah left the main body of his forces in front of the royal army, and himself with six thousand horse made a forced march to Sirhind, which he surrounded, took the fort, and carried off the whole of the vizier's

property, and Abdoolla and Fyzoolla Khan; and having effected this object, rejoined his army.

On the 22d of the month of Rubbee-ool-uwul, while the vizier was at his devotions in his tent, he was killed by a cannon shot. The troops on this occasion became disheartened; Eeshree Sing with all the Rajpoots quitted the army, and returned to Jyenugur; and the defection would have been general, had not Moyin-ool-moolk (commonly called Meer Munnoo), the son of the late vizier, forgotten for the time his own grief in the distracted state of the army, and led them on to battle. In this attack he had the advantage of the Douranees, and the prospect of a decisive victory, but unfortunately was wounded and carried off the field.

On the 26th of the month the Douranees made an attack on the royal camp; but a magazine of their rockets exploded, whereby so many of their men were killed, that they were induced to retreat.

Ahmed Shah's force did not now exceed fifteen thousand men, and the royal army, notwithstanding desertions, still amounting to ninety thousand, the Douranee perceived that no impression could be made this year; he therefore on the 29th of Rubbee-ool-uwul 1161 Hejiree, broke up his camp and returned to Kandahar; nor did the prince deem it expedient to pursue him. The gallantry of Moyin-ool-moolk was rewarded with the government of Mooltân and Lahore, and the prince led back the royal army to Delhi; but on the 27th of

Rubbee-oos-sanee, a few days before his arrival, Mahomed Shah had breathed his last, after a reign of thirty years and two months.

On the 1st of Jemad-ool-uwul, 1161 Hejiree, the prince was proclaimed king by the title of Ahmed Shah, and the office of vizier being vacant, by the death of Kummur-ood-deen Khan, his second son Intizam-ood-dowla, Khan Khânân, and the Nuwab Abdool-munsoor Khan Sufdur Jung were candidates for the succession. The latter wrote to Ullee Mahomed Khan, requesting him to bury in oblivion their former disputes, and to aid him in the present juncture, promising that in the event of his succeeding to the vizarut, he would do for Ullee Mahomed infinitely more than had been done by his friend the late vizier.

As Ullee Mahomed Khan had lost his hearing, and was besides afflicted with a complication of disorders which baffled the skill of his physicians, he was unable to proceed to Delhi in person, and therefore despatched Hafiz Rehmut with one thousand horse, instructing him to exert himself in behalf of Sufdur Jung.

Intizam-ood-dowla had laid a plan to obtain admittance to the royal presence, and at the same time to surround the palace with his troops, amounting to five thousand men, in order to prevent the introduction of Sufdur Jung; but Hafiz Rehmut and Sufdur Jung determined to unite their forces to prevent the execution of this project, as Sufdur Jung felt assured that if he

could succeed in gaining admission to the palace, the interest of the king's mother, and the eunuch Javeid Khan, would secure to him the honour of the vizarut. At an early hour Hafiz with his thousand horse went to Sufdur Jung's camp, whence their combined force proceeded to the palace; and although Intizam-ood-dowla's troops were already assembled there, no opposition was offered. Sufdur Jung being introduced to the king by Javeid Khan, was honoured with a khelat and appointed vizier. Three days after this, he introduced Hafiz Rehmut to the Emperor, who granted him permission to use the *nobut*; and the object of his embassy being accomplished, he returned to Kutheir, bearing a letter of thanks from Sufdur Jung to Ullee Mahomed Khan.

About a month after the return of Hafiz Rehmut, Ullee Mahomed Khan, perceiving that he had not long to live, assembled his principal surdars, and pointed out to them the necessity of a chief being selected, expatiating largely on the consequences which might result from delaying this measure till after his decease. Some of the surdars proposed that as Abdoolla and Fyzoolla were still prisoners with the Douranee, their younger brother Saadoolla Khan should succeed his father; and promised their faithful observance of his orders notwithstanding his youth; but Ullee Mahomed answered that neither Abdoolla nor Fyzoolla were calculated for the situation, and that such a boy as Saadoolla was quite out of the question; adding, that the only person whom

he knew capable of governing the Afghans was Hafiz Rehmut Khan; and accordingly he laid his turban at the feet of Hafiz, and nominated him his successor. Hafiz took up the turban and placed it on the head of Saadoolla Khan, saying that he was his surdar, to whom he would at all times afford such aid as his youth might render necessary. Two days after this conference (*viz.* on the 3d of Shuwâl, in the year 1161 of the Hejiree, and in the first year of the reign of Ahmed Shah), Ullee Mahomed Khan was translated to the regions of the blessed, and his earthly remains were interred at Owlah; where a splendid tomb is erected to his memory.

Hafiz Rehmut Khan was forty years of age when he became ruler of Kutheir; his conduct had secured to him the regard of all the principal surdars, and they cheerfully presented to him their nuzzurs, and acknowledged him as their chief.

Only two months had elapsed from the death of Ullee Mahomed Khan, when, at the suggestion of the Nuwab Abdool munsoor Khan, Sufdur Jung, the Emperor Ahmed Shah appointed Koottub-ood-deen Khan (grandson of Azmut-oolla Khan) Soobah of Kutheir. Hafiz Rehmut warned the new governor that he would not allow him to take possession of his appointment, and advised his return to Delhi; but, though unattended by any considerable force, he ventured to cross the Ganges, when Doondé Khan with a party of Afghans attacked and slew him. Sufdur Jung's enmity to the Afghans

was increased by this event, and he determined to make Kaim Khan, the nuwab of Furrukhabad, the instrument of his vengeance, by appointing him successor to Kootub-ood-deen; observing that if he should be slain, there would be one Afghan less; and that if he succeeded, the province would again become subject to the king.

Kaim Khan would gladly have declined the honour, but not daring to disobey the king's mandate, he prepared to enter on his new office: anxious, however, to avoid a breach with Hafiz, he despatched Mouzzum Khan to Owlah, to notify to him the appointment, and to request his permission to assume the government without opposition, adding that if he refused, the aid of the king's troops must be called in. To this message Hafiz replied, that as the Afghans had conquered the country when the king could not, he would acknowledge no master but the king; and that as Kaim Khan well knew his appointment to have originated with the Vizier, who had taken all power out of the king's hands, it would be proper for him at once to decline the office. Mouzzum Khan then attempted to carry his point by threats, but was soon silenced and dismissed from Owlah; whence he proceeded to Delhi, where he and his brother Muhmood Khan, so misrepresented the conduct of Hafiz, that Kaim Khan was directed to attack him without delay.

The troops of Kaim Khan crossed the Ganges at Furrukhabad, and Hafiz Rehmut advanced from Owlah

to meet them. When the two armies were near each other, Hafiz deputed Syyud Ahmed, (commonly called "Shahjie Meea"), with two other persons of equal sanctity, to turn Kaim Khan from his purpose; and he would have complied if the consent of Mahmood Khan could have been obtained; but with him all persuasions were unavailing; he said that he had determined to subdue the Afghans, and that this was a cause in which holy men had no business to meddle. Shahjie Meea became angry at this language, and in a prophetic strain foretold the death of Muhmood and Kaim Khan, and the defeat of their army; then desired Hafiz to proceed to action in full confidence of success.

On the following morning, being the 12th of Zilhaije, in the year 1161 of the Hejiree, Muhmood Khan and Kaim Khan, at the head of sixty thousand horse and foot, with four hundred elephants and a large train of artillery, attacked Hafiz Rehmut, whose whole force did not exceed twenty-five thousand men. The action took place in the village of Doomree, two koss south-east of Buddawun, and in the first onset vast numbers of the Afghans were killed by the enemy's guns, when Doondé Khan dismounting from his horse, led them on to the charge, and carried every thing before him. Muhmood Khan brought up a reinforcement to oppose Doondé Khan, when Hafiz, seeing that he was likely to be overpowered, rushed into the thick of the action. Kaim Khan advanced with the elephants, but was shot,

as were most of those mounted in the howdahs. Muhmood Khan though severely wounded, endeavoured to recover the day; but becoming faint from loss of blood, he was carried off the field, and died: and the troops having lost their leader took to flight. In the heat of the action, Mouzzum Khan made an attempt to seize the person of Saadoolla Khan, who was mounted on an elephant in the rear, with Syyud Hussun in the *khúwas*.* Mouzzum Khan made a cut at the Syyud with his sabre, but being unable to reach him, called to a soldier to shoot him: the man fired, but by a sudden turn of the elephant the ball lodged in Mouzzum Khan's body

Kaim Khan's *mahout*† drove his elephant from the field with the intention of conveying the body of his master to Furrukhabad, but was pursued and overtaken by two troopers named Zyn Khan and Bairam Khan, who after dividing the jewels, severed the head from the body, and carried it in triumph to Hafiz. The body was by his order placed in a palanquin, covered with shawls, and despatched to Furrukhabad. Hafiz then took possession of Kaim Khan's tent, and having returned thanks for the victory, divided the plunder of the camp.

The pergunnahs of Buddawun, Mehrabad, Ooshyt, and Purumnuggur, east of the Ganges, then appertaining to the Nuwabs of Furrukhabad, were now annexed by Hafiz to his own domain, while the widow

* The back seat of the howdah. † Elephant driver.

of Kaim Khan was permitted to retain the pergunnahs west of the river.

Mahomed Khan Bungish, father of this Kaim Khan, was with only twenty-five horsemen, entertained in the service of Furrokhsére, when that monarch advanced from Bengal to attack Moiz-ood-deen the usurper of the throne of Delhi; and as he behaved with great gallantry in the battle fought on that occasion, the emperor gave him the command of a thousand men, which was at subsequent periods increased to five and seven thousand; besides the forces placed under the command of his sons and other relatives, amounting in all to fifty-two thousand: whence he obtained the appellation of "Bâoûn Huzaree." In the year 1143 of the Hejiree he was appointed Soobah of Malwa, and defeated Mulhar Rao Holkar and Girdhur Buhadoor at Oojein, of which city he took possession. In 1145 he was superseded by Rajah Suwye Jyesing; and when in 1151 Nadir Shah entered Delhi, the ladies of the royal house were committed to his charge in the fort of Selimgurh: nor would he ever wait on Nadir Shah, though repeatedly summoned to his presence. At his death, he strongly advised his son not to quarrel with his brethren in Kutheir; but Kaim Khan disregarded this advice, and the consequences have been related. Kaim Khan had succeeded to the rank and estates of his father, was called by the endearing appellation of "son of the king," and was even admitted to the presence of

the widow of Mahomed Shah, who was a daughter of the emperor Furrokhsere.

Hafiz Rehmut having appointed Futteh Khan Khansaman, to the office of Aumil of Buddawun and Ooshyt, and sent other Aumils to Mehrabad and Purumnuggur, was anxious to annex to his province the tract of country lying at the foot of the hills near the Surjoo or Gogra river; for this purpose he proceeded to Pillibheet, and there assembled a force which was dispatched to Subna under the command of an experienced officer named Sheikh Kubbeer, who succeeded in reducing the Zemeendars to subjection, and put several in confinement, at the same time that he gave every encouragement to the Ryyuts to remain in their villages. After a few days Hafiz went to Subna, when he released the Zemeendars and re-established them in their villages. Sheikh Kubbeer continued his march to Khyreegur, which pergunnah is bounded on the west by the Gogra river, and was at that time held by Rajpoots and Bunjarras who had collected a body of ten thousand men to oppose his progress; but having succeeded in crossing the river, Sheikh Kubbeer soon dispersed this undisciplined rabble, and entered the town of Khyreegur: from thence he advanced to the eastward, and having crossed the Courialla and Karnaul rivers, he encamped outside the forest which surrounds the fort of Bhurtapore, where the Hindoos had taken post. Being acquainted with the mazes of the forest, they made several

successful sallies on the Afghans, but the perseverance of Sheikh Kubbeer overcame every obstacle; the fort was stormed, and the whole of the garrison put to the sword.

In Sejowlee, Dhurmapore and Singuleea, Sheikh Kubbeer also established the authority of Hafiz, and having settled the amount of the revenue to be paid by the landholders, he left Ikhtiar Khan, as Aumil of Khyreegur, and returned with his troops to Subna. Although Khyreegur is a very rich country, and famous for the production of a superior kind of rice, yet the climate is exceedingly unhealthy, and the army of Sheikh Kubbeer had suffered so much from sickness, that Hafiz Rehmut was obliged to assemble fresh troops to complete his undertaking. The pergunnahs of Mulwara and Mujhiallee still remained in the hands of the Bunjarras, and towards them the new levies directed their course, and soon made themselves masters of the former.

The pergunnah of Mujhiallee was subject to the Rajah of Dôtee, and the town was the grand mart for the barter and sale of the produce of the hills. At this time a vast number of merchants were assembled there, and when Sheikh Kubbeer entered the town, the whole of the people fled, leaving him in possession of a valuable booty, from which he made a selection to present to Hafiz Rehmut, and divided the remainder among his troops.

As the Rajah of Dôtee had in the first instance been

made sensible of the power of the Afghans by their conquest of Almorah, and now personally felt it in their conquest of the pergunnah of Mujhiallee, he sent vakeels to Hafiz at Subna, to ascertain the amount which he would demand as the tribute for that pergunnah; and terms having been agreed on, a sunnud was granted to the Rajah. Every thing being now settled to the satisfaction of Hafiz, he returned to Pillibheet after an absence of four months.

The death of Kaim Khan was almost as gratifying news to the vizier Sufdur Jung, as would have been his victory over Hafiz Rehmut, and no sooner did he hear of the event than he marched to Furrukhabad to seize his property. Outside the city he was met by the sons of the late Nuwab, whom he immediately put under restraint, and subsequently imprisoned them in the fort of Allahabad. Sufdur Jung then confined all the females of the family, seized their money, and stripped them of their jewels. In a few days Nuwul-roy arrived from Lucnow, and Sufdur Jung left him to collect all that remained to be plundered, while he returned to his post at Delhi. Ahmed Khan, the younger brother of the late Kaim Khan, who had hitherto resided at court, on hearing of Sufdur Jung's conduct to his nephews, considered himself no longer safe at Delhi, and fled to Mow.

Nuwul-roy, in obedience to the orders of Sufdur Jung, collected all the property which he could find,

and then returned to Lucnow, taking with him as his prisoner the mother of Kaim Khan. Saheb-roy, a Mootusuddee, who had been in the service of Mahomed Khan Burgish, and who was now employed by Nuwul-roy, pitying the unfortunate situation of his late master's widow, who was exposed to the greatest indignities, laid a plan for her release; and one night when Nuwul-roy was in a state of intoxication, took to him a petition from the Begum, soliciting his permission to proceed to Furrukhabad for a few days, to which request Nuwul-roy gave his assent; and having so far succeeded in his object, he placed the Begum in a covered carriage, and desired her servants to proceed with all possible expedition: which order they so well obeyed, that by the following evening they reached the town of Mow. Nuwul-roy on recovering from his debauch, discovered the trick which had been passed on him, but as he could not overtake the Begum, he wrote an account of her escape to Sufdur Jung, omitting all that would have been to his own discredit; but the vizier admitted no excuse, and ordered him immediately to return to Furrukhabad, and to seize her person. Such an order could not long remain concealed from persons so deeply interested as Ahmed Khan and his relations, and who indeed were prepared to expect that Sufdur Jung would not allow the Begum to remain quietly at Furrukhabad. As Nuwul-roy was obliged to pass through the town of Mow, on his way from Lucnow,

they determined to way-lay him on his march; Ahmed Khan, with the aid of Rôstum Khan Afreedee, collected a sufficient quantity of arms for their party, and at three koss distance from Mow they awaited his arrival: they there attacked and drove off his followers, surrounded Nuwul-roy's elephant, and cut him to pieces; after which Ahmed Khan proceeded to Furrukhabad, and took possession of his paternal property.

Sufdur Jung's rage at this event knew no bounds; and to revenge himself on the Afghans of Mow and Furrukhabad, he assembled the royal army under Ishâk Khan; four thousand men under Futteh Ullee Khan; and called in to his aid, Soorujmull Jhaut with thirty thousand horse and foot; and, with a large train of artillery, this overwhelming force moved from Shahjehanabad.

Ahmed Khan and the Afghans of Mow felt that their very existence depended on their conduct in this juncture; and having assembled all the forces they could muster, they applied for aid to Hafiz Rehmut Khan, who shocked at the disgrace to which the family had been exposed by Sufdur Jung, readily acceded to their request, and dispatched to their assistance Wur Khan, Purmool Khan, and other surdars, promising to join them in person, if the strength of Sufdur Jung's army should render such a measure necessary.

When Sufdur Jung learned that Hafiz had joined the cause of the Furrukhabad Pathâns, he made forced

marches in hopes of reaching the city, before the arrival of the reinforcement from Kutheir: and Ahmed Khan, deeming it unwise to allow Sufdur Jung to enter into the heart of his country, marched out to meet him at the head of fifteen thousand men. His spies having brought to him correct information of the disposition of Sufdur Jung's force, Ahmed Khan divided his troops into two bodies; the one under Rôstum Khan was directed to attack Soorujmull, while Ahmed Khan in command of the other attacked Sufdur Jung.

The Jhauts under Soorujmull being so superior in numbers, overpowered Rôstum Khan, and in a short time news was brought to Ahmed Khan of his defeat and death; his presence of mind, however, did not forsake him in this extremity, but desiring the messenger to be silent, he gave out to his troops that Rôstum Khan, although opposed to a superior force, had succeeded in defeating Soorujmull, adding, that unless they now exerted themselves, their character would be lost. Cheered by this news, his division made a desperate attack on the royal army, and Ishâk Khan was slain, when the Afghans took possession of the field train. The wind being very high, the dust was for some time so great, that Ahmed Khan could not discern what part of the army remained to be opposed; but when it subsided, Sufdur Jung was discovered, mounted on an elephant at a little distance. The Afghans immediately rushed forward, and a shot striking Sufdur Jung in the neck, he fell back in his

howdah, and the mahout drove his elephant off the field. The troops supposing the Vizier to be slain, took to flight; and Soorujmull, who had hitherto been victorious, hearing that Sufdur Jung was slain, and having no personal interest in the contest, considered it useless to continue the action, and drew off his men. This action took place between Patiallee and Suhawur, on the 22d of Shuwâl, in the year 1163 of the Hejiree.

Ahmed Khan having returned thanks for this signal victory, took possession of the enemy's camp, in which was found an immense plunder, which was divided on the spot. On dismissing the Afghans with suitable presents, Ahmed Khan communicated to Hafiz his intention to take possession of the provinces of Oude and Allahabad, and requested Hafiz to assist him in the execution of his purpose; accordingly Sheikh Kubbeer, Purmool Khan, and other surdars, with their respective contingents, marched to Shahabad and Khyrabad, of which purgunnahs they took quiet possession.

Ahmed Khan dispatched his son Muhmood to invade the province of Oude, while he with a large army invaded Allahabad; On his route he met little opposition, but as the fort of Allahabad could only be taken by regular approaches, he was obliged to sit down before it. Sufdur Jung had nearly recovered from his wound, when he heard of this invasion of his territory, and he in revenge sent orders to the Killadar of Allahabad to put to death the five sons of Kaim Khan; which cruel

mandate was obeyed. The vizier also again determined to attack Ahmed Khan, and called in the aid of a Mahratta force, which advanced to Etawah, and in the month of Jemad-ool-uwul, in the year 1164 of the Hejiree, defeated Azum Khan (the brother of Ahmed Khan) and Shadil Khan, and obliged them to fly from their post to Furrukhabad. This unexpected event compelled Ahmed Khan to raise the seige of Allahabad, and directing his son Muhmood to quit Lucnow, and join him on the road, he hastened back to Furrukhabad. Sufdur Jung in the mean time assembled his own forces; through the interest of the eunuch Javeid Khan, he obtained a field train and a supply of ammunition from the royal arsenal, though the king's army was not permitted to accompany him; and he marched from Delhi, and joined the Mahrattas.

Saadoolla Khan, fired with youthful ardour, [and urged on by Buhadoor Khan a child of his late father's,] at the head of about twelve thousand men, marched from Owlah to the aid of Ahmed Khan, nor could the rhetoric of Hafiz dissuade him from the rash enterprize. After three days Saadoolla made his re-appearance at Owlah without an attendant, and reported that the moment his troops had crossed the Ganges, they were attacked by the Mahrattas, and dispersed with great slaughter. Buhadoor Khan Chéla[b] was among the killed, and Saadoolla, seeing that the day was lost, hastily recrossed the river, and rode without halting to Owlah. Ahmed

Khan also, finding himself unable to oppose the combined forces of the Mahrattas and Sufdur Jung, fled to Owlah, taking with him all the females of his family, and accompanied by the sirdars of Mow and Furrukhabad. Sufdur Jung then entered the city, and began to prepare boats for crossing the army into Kutheir.

As the Mahratta force amounted to eighty-thousand horse, and the army of Sufdur Jung to not less than fifty-thousand, it was evident that the troops in Kutheir were insufficient to offer any serious opposition: and the Mahratta horse being in the habit of making forced marches of twenty koss in a day, it became necessary to guard against a sudden surprise at Owlah; and Hafiz Rehmut dispatched the sirdars with their families to Kasheepore, and then followed with his own family.

The approach of the rains, however, induced the vizier to postpone his attack on Kutheir until the cold season, as the Mahrattas deemed it inexpedient to enter at such a time the country of an enemy, which being intersected by numerous rivers would impede their progress; or in case of a defeat, render a retreat impracticable.

At the commencement of the rains Hafiz Rehmut with the sirdars and their families returned to Owlah, and there passed four months; at the expiration of which period Sufdur Jung constructed three bridges of boats on the Ganges for crossing his army. Twenty-five thousand Mahrattas had crossed at the Ghaut of Koomrole, and more were still crossing when Hafiz ad-

vanced to oppose them. For several days skirmishes took place, and the Mahrattas finding that no more could be crossed there, prepared two other bridges higher up the river; and determined on sending a body of their best horse to plunder Owlah, and seize the families of the chiefs, conceiving that the sirdars would immediately return to attempt the rescue of their women, and that the main body without its leaders would be easily defeated. The Afghans on learning this, at once decided on returning to Owlah, and there making a stand; and the vizier hoping to be before them, pressed on and overtook them on the road, when a battle ensued, in which great numbers were slain on both sides; nor could either party claim the victory; but Hafiz proceeded that evening five koss further on his way to Owlah, and Sufdur Jung did not deem it prudent to pursue him.

On reaching Owlah, Hafiz collected all the riches of the place, and the families of the chiefs, and placing them in the centre of the army, marched to Chilkeea which is at the foot of the Kumaoon hills, not easily accessible, and surrounded by a thick forest. The women and children were accommodated in the village, and batteries were erected outside the forest in front of the army. Sufdur Jung and Mulhar Rao having left Aumils in Owlah and Bareilly, advanced to the skirts of the forest, and there encamped. Daily skirmishes took place between the advanced posts; but as the

forest was thick, the Mahrattas rarely ventured to enter it; and when they did so, being unacquainted with the paths, their parties generally fell into the hands of the Afghans. Sufdur Jung perceiving that in this sort of warfare he was not likely to gain any advantage, erected batteries opposite to those of Hafiz; and in this state the armies remained opposed to each other for four months, during which time though the sword had done little, sickness had thinned the ranks of the combined army; and the Mahrattas weary of a contest in which no plunder could be gained, and suffering from disease in a climate peculiarly unhealthy, were importunate with their chief Mulhar Rao, to lead them back. The affairs of Oude had fallen into confusion after the death of Nuwul-roy, and by the subsequent invasion of the province, which made Sufdur Jung also desirous to have his hands disengaged; his resolution to treat with Hafiz was further confirmed by the advance of Ahmed Shah Dourance, who by this time had reached Lahore; and the interest of all parties thus uniting to bring about a speedy adjustment of their quarrel, Mulhar Rao invited Hafiz Rehmut to a conference, when a treaty was signed, highly favourable to the latter; and the restitution of Ahmed Khan's paternal estates was one of the stipulations.

After four days, Sufdur Jung commenced his march to Lucnow, and as a particular favour requested Hafiz to accompany him to Shahjehanpore, leaving his army

to follow at leisure. The Afghan sirdars strongly dissuaded him from complying with this request, but he chose to assent. The vizier took every opportunity of paying respect and attention to Hafiz; several hours of each day they passed together, and from that time the vizier addressed Hafiz by the title of brother. Unwilling to part with so pleasing a companion, the vizier prevailed on Hafiz to proceed as far as Mohaun (seven koss from Lucnow), where Hafiz having received several arzees from his Aumils, pointing out the necessity of his speedy return, quitted the vizier's camp. On taking leave, Sufdur Jung presented him with a rich khelat, a string of large pearls, a diamond sirpéch and aigrette of great value, a splendid sword and shield, an elephant with a silver howdah, a horse with silver trappings; and obtained for him a sunnud from the king for the pergunnahs of Subna and Purumnuggur, which were granted in jaghire to his family.

The return of Hafiz to Owlah excited a general rejoicing. To his judicious arrangements the Afghans were indebted for the happy issue of a contest which at its commencement augured so unfavourably: to which may be added, the well known duplicity of Sufdur Jung, which made them anxious for the safety of their ruler, so long as he remained in the vizier's camp.

External tranquillity being restored, Hafiz Rehmut directed his attention to the management of the revenues and police of his country, particularly to the pergun-

nahs of Mehrabad and Jelalabad, where a military force was requisite to subdue several refractory zemeendars.

Hitherto Hafiz Rehmut Khan in governing Kutheir had only considered himself as fulfilling the promise made to Ullee Mahomed Khan; but as Saadoolla Khan was now arrived at years of discretion, and as Hafiz was anxious to devote to spiritual exercises a greater portion of time than was consistent with his duties as ruler of the country, he wished to transfer the reins of government to Saadoolla; but found him so dissipated a character, that the whole charge of the revenue, and the management of the troops still devolved on Hafiz. In order, however, to secure a greater degree of leisure than he had yet enjoyed, Hafiz appointed one of his Russaladars, Aumil of each pergunnah: seven lacs of rupees in cash, and several rich pergunnahs, were set apart for the expenses of Saadoolla Khan: the pergunnahs of Sumbul, Mooradabad, Thakoor-dwara, and Kasheepore were given to Doondee Khan for himself and his forces, amounting to twelve thousand horse and foot: some villages in the vicinity of Owlah and Kote Sahlbân were allotted to Bukshee Surdar Khan; and other estates were made over to Futteh Khan Khansuman, Sheikh Kubbeer, Moolla Bâz Khan, and the different sirdars.

In the latter end of the year 1164 of the Hejiree, Abdoolla Khan and Fyzoolla Khan (the sons of Ullee

Mahomed Khan), who had been taken prisoners at Sirhind by Ahmed Shah Douranee, obtained their release, and returned to Kutheir. Hafiz Rehmut Khan offered to resign the government to Abdoolla Khan, but his want of experience disqualified him for the situation, and the sirdars refused to acknowledge him as their chief. Abdoolla, however, unconscious of his own deficiencies, attributed his rejection to a want of sincerity on the part of Hafiz, and instigated Kootub Shah to poison him. The attempt was repeated several times without success, as intimation of the plot had been given to Hafiz, who took no notice of it, in the hope that Abdoollah would in time discover the injustice of his suspicions: an attempt to murder his brother Fyzoolla, however, convinced Hafiz that the young man could not be reclaimed, and he consequently found it necessary to relinquish all communication with him.

Some short time after this, Abdoola Khan, pretending urgent business, requested an interview with Hafiz Rehmut Khan, and concealed a number of armed men in the house to murder him on his entrance. Accompanied by Doondee Khan, Bukshee Surdar Khan, and Abdool Sitar Khan, Hafiz waited on Abdoolla, and found him surrounded by six of his myrmidons, but none ventured to attack; Hafiz, who had heard of the plot, charged Abdoolla with his treachery, ordered him to quit the country immediately, and seized his servants. The sirdars would have executed these men without

delay, but Hafiz contented himself with expelling them from Kutheir.

Abdoollah Khan went from Owlah to Furrukhabad, where having experienced much distress for several months, Ahmed Khan interceded for him, and he was permitted to return. The town of Oojanee, with lands to the amount of four lacs of rupees per annum, were allotted for his support; and there he resided till his death, which was occasioned by the bite of a snake. His jaghire then descended to his son, Nusur-oolla Khan.

To Fyzoolla Khan, Hafiz Rehmut had given the pergunnah of Shahabad, yielding three lacs of rupees per annum; four thousand horse and foot were appointed to attend him, and his residence was fixed at Rampore, but he generally lived with Hafiz in the fort of Bareilly.

As Pillibheet was the original jaghire of Hafiz Rehmut Khan, he now turned his attention to the improvement of that town; sent all the females of his family to reside there (except one, who with his eldest son, Enayit Khan, was accommodated in the fort of Bareilly), and erected a new Muhl Serai,* Deewan Aum,† and Deewan Khas;‡ changing the name from Pillibheet to Hafizabad.

Sufdur Jung having settled the affairs of Oude, returned to Delhi, and as he and Javeid Khan had quarrelled about the preparations required for his attack on the Nuwab of Furrukhabad above related,(o) Sufdur

* Apartment for the females. † Public hall of audience.
‡ Private hall of audience.

Jung invited the eunuch to an entertainment at his house, and there treacherously murdered him. The Emperor was so enraged at this outrage, that he dismissed Sufdur Jung from the office of vizier, and appointed Intizâm-ood-dowla in his stead: made Imâd-ool-moolk, Ghazee-ood-deen Khan (son of Firôze Jung, and grandson of Nizam-ool-moolk), an Ameer of the empire, and ordered them to attack the ex-minister. Sufdur Jung deemed it inexpedient to remain longer in the imperial city, and therefore pitched his camp at a short distance from Delhi, and prepared for battle. Daily skirmishes occurred between his followers and the royal troops; but he did not dare unaided to venture on a pitched battle, and therefore solicited the assistance of Hafiz Rehmut, who marched from Kutheir at the head of forty thousand men. At the town of Hoppur he was met by Meer Moonakib, Rajah Débee-dutt, and the eunuch Bussunt Khan, who brought a furmân from the king, ordering him to join the royal standard, and not to unite himself with the rebel Sufdur Jung. Hafiz Rehmut answered that he was engaged to assist the ex-vizier, and that were he to obey the commands of the king, his character would suffer. This answer being communicated to his majesty, a second furmân was issued, admitting the plea urged by Hafiz for declining to act against Sufdur Jung, but commanding him on his allegiance to return to his own country: this order he did not dare to disobey, and therefore wrote to Sufdur

Jung, informing him that he was obliged to return to Kutheir, as the king's interference rendered his junction impossible.

When Hafiz prepared to return, the king's vakeels offered large sums of money to the sirdars to induce them to engage in his majesty's service; but with the exception of Nujeeb Khan, who commanded one hundred horse, none accepted the bribe: however, when the private soldiers saw that large rewards were bestowed on these deserters, many more joined Nujeeb Khan's standard; and he took away with him altogether about two thousand men. In the battle of Kotela which occurred soon afterwards (where Indur-geer Goosein commanded Sufdur Jung's forces), Nujeeb Khan behaved with great gallantry, slaying with his own hand the Goosein; for which conduct his majesty rewarded him with the pergunnahs of Suharunpore, Booria, and all the villages of Barrah, in jagheer: and Sufdur Jung being now convinced that he could not make head against the royal army, and that he had no chance of being restored to the vizarut, returned to Oude.[d]

Although Intizam-ood-dowla held the office of vizier, yet Imâd-ool-moolk, Ghazee-ood-deen Khan, had obtained so much influence at court, that nothing was done without his consent; and on some occasion having been thwarted by the king, he threw both him and his mother into prison, put out the eyes of the former, and raised to the throne Azeez-ood-deen (son of Moiz-ood-deen, and

grandson of Buhadoor Shah), who was proclaimed king by the title of Alumgeer Sânee (or the second) on the 10th of the month Shâbân, in the year 1167 of the Hejiree. Imâd-ool-moolk then usurped the vizarut, and retained all power in his own hands.

On the 17th of Zilhaije, in the year 1167 Hejiree, the Nuwab Sufdur Jung died from the effects of a tumour, called in surgery a *carbuncle*, and was succeeded by his son Jelâl-ood-deen Hyder, who assumed the title of Shooja-ood-dowla.

When Nujeeb Khan quitted Hafiz Rehmut at Hoppur, he gave out that he did so with the permission of his father-in-law, Doondee Khan; and as Hafiz was anxious to do away the impression that he had broken his faith with Sufdur Jung, he wrote to Doondee Khan, that his conduct on this occasion had caused a breach between them, which could not be forgiven; and that he must prepare to defend his actions by his sword. Doondee Khan disclaimed all knowledge of Nujeeb Khan's intentions, and declared that he had never been consulted; but Hafiz deeming it highly improbable that Nujeeb Khan would have dared to disobey his orders, unless assured of support from Doondee Khan, discredited these assertions, and commenced his march to Bissowlee. Doondee Khan was sincerely attached to Hafiz Rehmut, and to convince him of his integrity, he quitted his house with only a few servants and Bukshee Surdar Khan, and met Hafiz at Owlah, when the frankness of

his manner at once dispelled all doubts, and the two friends embraced as usual.

About this period, the new town of Hafizgunje, eight koss from Bareilly, and ten koss from Hafizâbâd, was built: travellers having experienced great inconvenience from the want of a halting place on that road.

In the year 1169 of the Hejiree, Moyin-ool-moolk, commonly called Meer Munnoo, having been killed by a fall from his horse, the government of Lâhore was entrusted to his widow; but Imâd-ool-moolk was offended that he had not been consulted on the occasion, and in the year 1170, on pretence of completing his marriage with the daughter of Meer Munnoo, to whom he was betrothed, he marched towards Lahore, accompanied by the prince Allee Gohur, afterwards better known by the title of Shah Allum. On his arrival at Loodhiana, and after having received his bride, he dispatched Adeena Bég Khan, Ibâd-oolla Khan, a Cashmirian, and Syyud Jumeel-ood-deen Khan Ruffeh-ool-dowla, to Lahore, forty koss distant, which they travelled in one night, and having seized Meer Munnoo's widow, they put her in confinement. Adeena Bég Khan was then appointed governor of Lahore, for which he agreed to pay annually thirty lacs of rupees, and Imâd-ool-moolk having effected his object, returned to Delhi.

Ahmed Shah Douranee no sooner heard of the vizier's conduct than he marched from Kandahar to Lahore, to seize Adeena Bég Khan; but that officer on the ap-

proach of the Shah, made his escape to Hànsi, and the Douranee pursued his route to Delhi. At the intercession of his mother-in-law, Ahmed Shah pardoned Imâd-ool-moolk, and for an annual payment confirmed him in the office of Vizier.

When Hafiz Rehmut heard of Ahmed Shah's arrival at Delhi, he sent an arzee by his vakeel Yakoob Ullee Khan; and the vakeel being admitted to the royal presence, received a khèlat and was dismissed with an order to Hafiz to join the army, which, under the command of Imâd-ool-moolk, had been sent to realise the *péshcush** due from Shooja-ood-dowla for the provinces of Oude and Allahabad; and after effecting this object, to attend his majesty. In obedience to the orders of the Shah, Hafiz assembled his army, and prepared to join Imâd-ool-moolk as soon as he crossed the Ganges.

The demand of a péshcush for the province of Oude had never before been made; but the Douranee's demands for cash since his arrival at Delhi had been so frequent, that the plunder of the inhabitants of that city no longer sufficed to answer them, and the vizier therefore suggested this measure to gain favour with the Shah; well knowing that if Shooja-ood-dowla should resist, the demand would be enforced by the sword, and then his personal enmity to Sufdur Jung would be gratified in the degradation of his son.

Imâd-ool-moolk was accompanied on this expedition by the princes Hidayut Buksh, and Mirza Bâbur (son

* Tribute.

and son-in-law of Alumgeer Sânee), also by Jân Bâz Khan Bungish, one of the Douranee's sirdars; and on arriving at Furruckhabad, Ahmed Khan offered to the princes suitable presents of tents, horses, shawls, &c. After halting a few days, the army crossed the Ganges, and Shooja-ood-dowla advanced to the western frontier of his dominions, and encamped in Sândee and Pâlee. Shooja-ood-dowla wrote to Hafiz Rehmut, reminding him of the friendship which had subsisted between him and Sufdur Jung, and intreating that he would not join a man who had brought down on him the king's displeasure, merely to gratify his private resentment: to which Hafiz answered that he did not dare to disobey the orders of the Shah, but that on joining Imâd-ool-moolk he would spare no pains to prevent his resorting to hostilities: accordingly, when Shooja-ood-dowla's vakeels waited on Imâd-ool-moolk, Hafiz used his utmost persuasions to effect an amicable adjustment; but as the vizier was actuated by private pique, he demanded a sum of money far beyond the power of Shooja-ood-dowla to pay

The two armies being encamped near to each other, daily petty affairs occurred between the advanced posts; and Hafiz fearing that the repetition of these might lead to a general action, privately instructed Saadoolla Khan to go to the camp of Shooja-ood-dowla, and on his behalf to propose terms to Imâd-ool-moolk, whereby Hafiz would be better enabled to interfere: accordingly

Saadoolla joined Shooja-ood-dowla, and exchanged turbans with him, at which Hafiz pretended to be offended; but represented to the vizier that his youth and inexperience must plead his excuse: and as it appeared from Saadoolla's letter that Shooja-ood-dowlah was willing to pay as his péshcush, as large a sum as he could afford; if the vizier rejected the offer, he should return to Kutheir, and state to the Shah his reasons for so doing, since his orders were only to interfere in case of non-payment. As Imâd-ool-moolk, unassisted, was not equal to the attack of Shooja-ood-dowla's camp, he was compelled to accept the terms proposed: and it was agreed that five lacs of rupees should be paid immediately, and a further sum by instalments. This business being settled, Imâd-ool-moolk and the princes returned to Furrukhabad, and Shooja-ood-dowla to Lucnow, on the 9th of Shuwal, in the year 1170 of the Hejiree. Hafiz Rehmut was preparing to join the Shah at Delhi, when intelligence was brought to him that a plague had broken out in the Shah's army after the massacre at Muttra, in consequence of which he had precipitately quitted Agra, and was retracing his steps to Kandahar. In passing through Delhi, the Shah was met by Alumgeer Sânee and Nujeeb Khan, who represented to him the misconduct of Imâd-ool-moolk; when the Douranee created Nujeeb Khan an ameer of the empire, and authorised the king to dismiss Imâd-ool-moolk from the vizarut. Nujeeb Khan being now in-

vested with power, took possession of the house which Imâd-ool-moolk occupied, and turned out the females of his family; which indignity so enraged the Vizier, that to avenge himself on Nujeeb Khan, he invited Ragoonat Rao (brother of Ballajee Rao) and Mulhar Rao Holkar, with their forces from the Dukhun; and when they were near at hand, Imâd-ool-moolk marched from Furrukhabad, and joined the Mahrattas near Delhi During twenty-five days repeated actions took place between the Mahrattas and the royal army, in which the former being generally successful, Nujeeb Khan offered a bribe to Mulhar Rao to secede from the confederacy, which being accepted, a treaty was set on foot; and it was finally agreed that Nujeeb Khan should be confirmed in his jagheer, and that Imâd-ool-moolk should be reinstated in his office of Vizier.

The Vizier, jealous of the prince Allee Gohur, who had entertained a small body of armed men for the protection of his person, wished to prevail on the king to insist on his residing within the palace, and failing in this object, took every opportunity of distressing him; at length, he with an armed force surrounded his house with the intention of seizing his person, when the prince gallantly cut his way through the assailants and escaped to Bareilly. Hafiz Rehmut Khan being at this time at Nanikmutta, the prince was received with due honours by Enayit Khan; and on his departure was presented

with several elephants and horses, and every necessary for his journey to Bengal.

Enayit Khan being at this time twelve years of age, it appeared to his father advisable to make arrangements for his nuptials; and he selected for his wife a daughter of the late Ullee Mahomed Khan. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Bareilly; the whole town being illuminated, and the shops decorated with flowers on the occasion.

Although Imad-ool-moolk had agreed to the treaty signed at Delhi, to secure his restoration to the vizarut, he was not of a disposition so soon to forgive the insult offered to his family by Nujeeb Khan (now having the title of Nujeeb-ood-dowla), and in 1772 Hejiree, soon after the departure of Allee Gohur from Delhi, the Vizier again called in the aid of the Mahrattas under Duttoo and Jungoo, with the intention of expelling Nujeeb-ood-dowla from his jagheer. On the arrival of the Mahrattas at Delhi, Nujeeb-ood-dowla entrenched himself at Sookurtâl, on the banks of the Ganges, and solicited aid from Hafiz Rehmut Khan. Hafiz conceiving his own troops insufficient to oppose the Mahrattas, requested Shooja-ood-dowla to join him, and the combined force marched from Bareilly, in Jemad-ool-awul, 1173 Hejiree. On reaching Hussunpore, intelligence was brought that the Mahrattas had made a bridge of boats on the Ganges, near to Sookurtâl, for the purpose of crossing into Kutheir, and Bukshee Surdar Khan with four thousand

picked men was sent in advance to oppose them, while two other russaladars were directed to follow as expeditiously as possible. The Bukshee* arrived at Subulgurh by forced marches, but finding that a large body of the Mahrattas had already crossed, he took post in the fort of that place, and on the arrival of the other russaladars, he attacked the enemy and compelled them to recross the Ganges. The main body of the army proceeded to the bank of the river opposite Sookurtal, and there encamped, as the whole of the boats had been secured by the Mahrattas, and the river was not fordable.

While Imâd-ool-moolk was making his approaches to attack Sookurtal, he heard that the Douranee was again on his march towards Hindoostan, and foreseeing that the aid of Hafiz Rehmut and Shooja-ood-dowla would defeat his plans against Nujeeb-ood-dowla, he only wanted the plausible pretext for breaking up his camp, which this news afforded him. The Mahrattas recrossed the Jumna at Karnaul, and advanced towards Sirhind to oppose the Shah, while Imâd-ool-moolk returned to Delhi, put to death the Emperor Alumgeer Sânee, and Intizam-ood-dowla (the uncle of his wife), and raised to the throne Mohee-oos-soonut, the son of prince Kâmbuksh, and grandson of Aurungzebe, on the 8th of the month Rubbee-ool-sanee, in the year 1173 of the Hejiree: after which the vizier set out for Sirhind to join Duttoo and Jungoo.

Paymaster.

When the Shah entered the Dooâb, Hafiz Rehmut crossed the Ganges to meet him, and was most graciously received; they then proceeded together to Delhi, and crossed the Jumna at Vizierabad. Duttoo and Jungoo attempted to oppose the passage of the Shah's troops, but some *Shooturnâls** being brought to the bank of the river, a heavy fire was opened on the Mahrattas, and Duttoo being shot, Jungoo took to flight. The Douranee horse, which were accustomed to swim rivers, received orders each to take an Afghan foot soldier behind him, and to cross the Jumna, as no boats were procurable. A considerable body of men thus landed on the opposite bank and pursued the Mahrattas, but the slaughter was not great, as the Shah ordered them not to follow beyond Delhi. The vizier did not deem it prudent to trust himself a second time in the hands of the Shah; he therefore accompanied Jungoo, and afterwards took refuge with Soorajmull Jhaut, the Rajah of Bhurtpore.

On the following evening the Shah and Hafiz Rehmut entered Delhi, and as soon as the army could be assembled, they proceeded to Méwat, where the vakeels of the Jyenuggur Rajah brought the péshcush, and at the same time gave intelligence that the Mahrattas had changed their route, and were proceeding eastward, with the intention of invading Rohilkund.

Hafiz was exceedingly anxious to be permitted to

* Small guns mounted on swivels, and fixed on saddles carried by camels.

pursue the Mahrattas, but the Shah directed him to come on leisurely with the infantry, while he with the horse undertook this expedition. At the head of ten thousand horse accustomed to long marches, the Shah overtook the Mahrattas at Dholkote and Kankurra, and defeated them with great slaughter: he then recrossed the Jumna, took possession of Coel, which had hitherto been held by the Jhauts, and encamped his army in that neighbourhood for the rainy season.

Soorujmull, the Rajah of Bhurtpore, omitted to send to the Shah the péshcush due for his country, and Hafiz Rehmut was dispatched to demand it. On his return to Coel, he was treated with a distinction never before shewn to a subject; and being admitted to a familiar intercourse with the king, he took every opportunity of mentioning the Nuwab of Oude in favourable terms, and ultimately obtained a furmân directing him to join the royal standard. Shooja-ood-dowla with five thousand men soon afterwards arrived at Coel; and Ahmed Khan having come from Furrukhabad, both were introduced by Hafiz to the Shah on the 4th of Zilhaije, in the year 1173 of the Hejiree.

During the rains Suddasheo Rao, commonly called "Bhow," (cousin of the Peishwa Ballajée Rao), Biswas Rao (son of the peishwa), and Shumshere Buhadoor, with an innumerable army of Mahrattas, advanced from the Dukhun to avenge the death of Duttoo; and these were joined on the march by Jungoo and Mulhar Rao

Holkar. The combined force arrived at Delhi on the 19th of Zilhaije, of the year 1173 Hejiree, and encamped around the city, till the season should be favourable for active operations. On the 29th of Suffur, in the year 1174, Bhow deposed Mohee-oos-soonut (who on ascending the throne had taken the title of Shah Jehân), and substituted in his stead Mirza Juwan Bukht, son of the prince Allee Gohur, by the title of "Naib,"* during his father's absence in Bengal.

The fort of Koonjpoora on the Jumna, near Karnaul, was garrisoned by the royal troops, commanded by Sumud Khan, Moomee Khan, Kootub Shah and Nijabut Khan, the latter of whom was bribed by the Mahrattas to give it up. A force marched from Delhi to attack the fort, and the garrison, with three of the sirdars, sallied out to oppose them; but Nijabut pretending that the presence of one of the sirdars was necessary in the fort, remained behind. After a short action the Douranees were defeated, and retreated to the fort, but the traitor Nijabut shut the gates against them; when these gallant soldiers, determined to sell their lives dearly, and rushing on the Mahrattas, slew an immense number before they fell. The traitor Nijabut then gave up the fort; but instead of receiving a reward, the Mahrattas took all he possessed, confined him, and ultimately put him to death.

On hearing that Koonjpoora had fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas, the rage of the Shah knew no bounds, and he issued orders for the immediate assembly of his army.

* Deputy or regent.

When the royal standard was unfurled, the army was found to exceed one hundred thousand fighting men, *viz.* the Shah's Douranee horse, thirty thousand; Hafiz Rehmut's horse and foot, thirty thousand; Nujeeb ood-dowla's contingent, fifteen thousand; Shooja-ood-dowla's, seven thousand; and Ahmed Khan's, five thousand; besides others of less note. The whole force advanced to the banks of the Jumna, and by three bridges of boats crossed the river at Bâgput, of which, when the Mahrattas heard, they moved to Panniput, and encamped with the town in their rear. The royal army took up a position opposite to them, and skirmishes daily took place between the advanced posts.

Bhow entertained an opinion, that with his superior numbers he could cut off the supplies of the royal army, and therefore wished to postpone a general action, until the troops reduced by famine should afford him an opportunity of attacking them with the certainty of success. One of the Shah's divisions was employed in convoying the grain, to intercept which, Bhow detached four of his sirdars, with large bodies of horse; and these frequently met. The supplies for such an army were necessarily brought from a great distance, and a scarcity was soon felt. Bhow's object, however, was not yet accomplished, and larger bodies were necessary to effect his purpose; he therefore caused a trench to be dug, and a breast-work to be formed in front of his camp, and there planted his artillery, in number seven

hundred pieces, under the command of Ibrahim Khan, and defended by twelve thousand foot. This measure enabled Bhow, with the main body of the horse, to extend his predatory excursions to a greater distance; and Govind Rao was selected, with twenty-five thousand horse, to intercept the supplies of grain coming from Kutheir and the lower part of the Dooab. The success of this measure was so complete, that a seer of grain sold in the Shah's camp for a rupee, and Govind Rao made a feint of invading Kutheir.

At this time Hâjee Attâee Khan, and Kurreem-dad Khan, with a reinforcement of six thousand men, arrived from Kandahar, and hearing of Govind's success in intercepting the supplies, they offered to attack him, and set off without a halt. After a journey of forty koss, they swam the river Jumna, and reached Ghazee-ood-deen-nuggur at day-break; attacked and defeated Govind's force, slew the leader, and carried his head in triumph to the Shah, whose camp they reached on the second day from their departure, after an extraordinary march of eighty koss,* having twice crossed a rapid river, and fought a great battle. From this time the supplies of grain came in as usual; and Jehân Khan, with six thousand horse, was deputed to retaliate on the Mahrattas, while another body of six thousand horse, under Shah Pusund Khan, was dispatched to lay waste the country to a distance of ten koss around their camp. Buhadoor Khan, with a third body of six thousand horse, was

* About one hundred and twenty miles.

directed to parade around the Mahratta entrenchment, to prevent egress, and to cut off all stragglers. Jehân Khan was very successful in his attacks on the Mahratta convoys, and though some supplies occasionally reached their camp, yet their distress was very great, and numbers of their men fell in defending the stores, besides those who died from famine and disease.

Enayit Khan, who on account of his youth had been left at Bareilly, could no longer be restrained from joining his father, and with an escort of two hundred men entered the royal camp; the Shah pleased with his military ardour, presented him with a khelat and a handsome sword. From him Hafiz received accounts of the death of his mother, and all the sirdars were sent by the Shah to condole with him on the occasion: but as this was not a time to indulge in useless regrets, he continued at the head of his troops, till the exertion, added to his poignant grief, brought on a severe illness, and he was under the necessity of committing the charge of his division to his cousin Doondee Khan, and his son Enayit Khan.

By the exertions of Buhadoor Khan, Shah Pusund Khan, and Jehân Khan, the Mahrattas were now reduced to the greatest straits; fire-wood or grass was not procurable within a day's march. One party had been sent out so far as Dholkote, and were returning to camp, when Jehân Khan (whose force had been increased to ten thousand men expressly for the purpose), attacked

them, defeated the escort, seized all the camels and bullocks, killed five thousand of their men, and carried off their horses.

The Mahrattas were now under the necessity of risking a general action; and on the following morning, being the 6th of Jemad-ool-uwul, in the year 1174 of the Hejiree, Bhow marched out of the entrenchments with the whole of the horse and elephants, while the artillery and foot were commanded by Ibrahim Khan, who opened a destructive fire on the batteries commanded by Doondee Khan: this was returned with some effect, and the sirdars only waited the nearer approach of the Mahrattas to rush on them sword in hand; but Ibrahim Khan having guns of a larger calibre than those of the Afghans, found it more to his advantage to keep up a distant cannonade, and the loss in the batteries was so great, that many of the men retreated to the division commanded by Ahmed Khan Bungish; when he advanced to the aid of the Afghans. Doondee Khan and Enayit Khan, however, did not wait the arrival of this reinforcement, but gallantly sallied forth, and attacked Ibrahim Khan's main body, when an immense number on both sides were slain; but the bravery of the Afghans was crowned with success, for they got possession of the artillery, and compelled the Mahrattas to retreat. At that moment Bhow (who had been anxiously looking on), advanced with eighty thousand horse; and the infantry thus supported, rallied and returned to the charge: the

Afghans were now in their turn overpowered, and began to retire, while those experienced officers Doondee Khan, Sheikh Kubbeer, and Syyud Mâsoom, still kept up a galling fire on the enemy.

Ahmed Khan Bungish arrived at this critical moment, when the Afghans were again enabled to make a stand; but their loss was so great, and the numbers of the enemy so far superior, that they must have been defeated, had not the Shah (who stood on a height anxiously watching the movements of the army) sent six thousand horse under Attâee Khan and Kureemdad Khan to their aid. The charge made by this body was in the most gallant style, but the Shah had to lament the loss of Hajee Attâee Khan, one of his bravest officers. Shah Pusund Khan, with six thousand horse, was sent to the rear of the Mahrattas, with orders to attack their camp, and burn their bazars, and the best marksmen were selected to pick out the leaders of the Mahrattas, who were distinguished by being mounted on elephants, *viz.* Bhow, Jungoo, Mulhar-rão, Ragoonath Rao, Shumshere Buhadoor, &c., every one of whom except Mulhar Rao was shot: and the Mahrattas seeing their sirdars fall, gave way in every direction, while the Shah's troops pursued their advantage, and the field was covered with slain. The whole of the cavalry was now sent in pursuit, and for three days they continued to follow the fugitives; the road to Delhi was strewed with dead bodies more than could be numbered, and twenty-five thousand were

counted on the field of action. The plunder obtained in guns, elephants, horses, camels, bullocks, and jewels, was beyond calculation; indeed, this was the greatest battle ever fought in Hindoostan, nor is there any other instance on record in which such prodigious armies were brought into the field. The escape of Mulhar Rao was managed by Nujeeb-ood-dowla, in return for the services rendered to him at Delhi, when he was opposed by Imâd-ool-moolk.

After the victory all the sirdars waited on the Shah to offer their congratulations, and present their nuzzurs. To Enayit Khan and Doondee Khan, who had so distinguished themselves in the action, the Shah paid marked attention, presenting khelats to each; the former was honoured with the titular command of seven thousand men, and permission to use the nôbut. To Shooja-ood-dowla, Nujeeb-ood-dowla, Ahmed Khan Bungish, and other sirdars khelats were also presented.

Among the prisoners were Ibraheem Khan and his son, who had been taken by Enayit Khan and Doondee Khan; and Hafiz wished to screen them from the vengeance of the Shah; but he learned that Ibraheem was in the camp, and caused strict search to be made for him, when Hafiz was compelled to acknowledge that he had concealed him, in the hope that when the royal indignation had subsided he might venture to solicit his pardon. The Shah answered, that a wretch who had dared to unite himself with infidels for the destruction

of the faithful, did not deserve to live, and that if in the present instance, from respect to Hafiz he should exercise clemency, this man would no doubt repeat his offence, and that probably at a time when the royal army was too distant to afford them relief. The Shah therefore gave orders that Ibraheem Khan should be put to death: the youth his son was released by Hafiz, and dismissed with a present.

In a few days the army proceeded to Delhi, and the Shah prepared for his return to Kandahar. On dismissing the several sirdars, he told them that his sole object in entering Hindoostan had been to annihilate the power of the Mahrattas, and to establish the Mahomedan empire; that having now effected his purpose, unanimity alone could preserve their superiority; and foreseeing that Shooja-ood-dowla would excite strife among them, he should take him to Kandahar. Hafiz represented to the Shah the great intimacy which had subsisted between him and Sufdur Jung, and intreated that Shooja-ood-dowla might be permitted to return to his own dominions, to which the Shah gave a reluctant assent, warning Hafiz that Shooja-ood-dowla would not let the Afghans remain in peace.

Before his final departure, the Shah gave to Enayit Khan the district of Etawah, and to Doondee Khan the district of Shekhôabad, then in the possession of the Mahrattas; Hafiz Rehmut Khan was appointed the Shah's *vukeel mootluk* (or special agent) at the court of

Delhi, and Nujeeb-ood-dowla was nominated paymaster of the royal troops.

Before we proceed with the history of Hafiz Rehmut, it may not be uninteresting to give a brief sketch of the life of Ahmed Shah Douranee, and some account of the Mahrattas, whose invasions of Hindoostan have been related.

Ahmed Shah was of the tribe of Suddudzâee, descendants from Ubdul, which name is generally pronounced by the Afghans, "Abdâl," and whence the name "Abdallee." Ubdul was the son of Tureen, the son of Shurf-ood-deen, the son of Surreen, the son of Kys-Abd-ool-Rusheed, who was descended from Afghân the grandson of Saul king of Israel.

Mahomed Zeman Khan, the father of Ahmed Shah, was the son of Dowlut Khan Abdallee, and on the death of Abdoolla Khan became ruler of Heerât, and was succeeded in that office by his son Zoolfikar Khan. Rehman Khan, a son of Abdoolla Khan, incited the friends of his family to rebellion; and the Afghans to put an end to these feuds made Rehman governor of Kandahar and Foorâth, and Zoolfikar Khan governor of Bâkhurz, while Allayar Khan was invited from Mooltân and made ruler of Heerât, in the year 1137 of the Hejiree. After a short time, Abdool-gunnee Kôzee instigated Zoolfikar Khan to attack Allayar Khan, and for six months the province of Heerât was a scene of bloodshed, when the Afghans determined to reject both

these competitors for the government, and to establish each head of a tribe as ruler. Allayar Khan retired to Rôchâk, and Zoolfikar Khan to Foorâth. This sort of patriarchal government continued till Nadir Shah's approach to invade their country rendered it expedient to vest the sovereign power in one person, and Allayar Khan was recalled, and a second time made Governor of Heerât. Zoolfikar Khan and Allayar Khan united their forces to oppose the enemy, and several desperate battles were fought; bût at length Zoolfikar Khan was defeated at Foorâth, and fled with his younger brother Ahmed to Kandahar, where they were seized and imprisoned by Shah Hoossein Ghooljee. When Nadir Shah conquered Kandahar, these young men obtained their liberty and waited on him, and a portion of land in Mâzinderân was allotted for their support. Zoolfikar Khan did not long survive, and his brother Ahmed then entered into the service of Nadir Shah, by whom he was placed in the command of a gate of the palace.

When Nadir Shah, at the instigation of his brother Ullee Koolee Khan, was murdered at Futtiabad, Ahmed assembled a force, and attacked the rebels, whom he entirely defeated; the principal sirdars fled, and Ahmed proceeded to Kandahar, where he was met by the Killadar Mohubbut Khan; the governor of the city, Noor Khan; and the commandant of the forces, Giddyee Khan, who escorted him to the fort, and proclaimed him king in the year 1161 of the Hejiree.

In a short time these three persons presuming upon the services which they had rendered to Ahmed Shah, were guilty of many improper acts, and although he would willingly have avoided noticing them, yet at length he found himself under the necessity of doing so to establish his own authority, and they were accordingly put to death. Nâsir Khan was appointed soobuhdar of Kâbool and Peshawur, and his son Nuwab Buhadur was detained a hostage for his father's fidelity. After a time Ahmed Shah proceeded to Kâbool, when Nâsir Khan aware that his conduct would not bear investigation, fled towards Lahore. A force was dispatched in pursuit, which overtook him and defeated his followers on the banks of the Indus, but Nâsir Khan escaped, and placed himself under the protection of Shah Nuwaz Khan, the governor of Lahore. Ahmed Shah with twelve thousand horse followed him, but sent in advance Mukdoom Shah to dissuade Shah Nuwaz Khan from affording an asylum to the fugitive: the Shah presuming on the sanctity of his priestly office, made use of harsh language, which was resented so highly that Shah Nuwaz Khan caused him to be put to death. The news of this outrage induced Ahmed Shah to proceed by forced marches, and on reaching Lahore he stormed the batteries by which the city was defended, when Shah Nuwaz Khan fled to Delhi.

The king left a garrison in the fort of Lahore, and was proceeding to Delhi, when the royal army of Hin-

doostan, under Kummur-ood-deen Khan, opposed his advance near to Sirhind. The result of the battle fought on that occasion, as well as of Ahmed Shah's subsequent invasions of Hindoostan, has been related in its place. When Ahmed Shah was on his death-bed, he sent for his son Timoor Shah from Heerât; but Shah Wullee Khan, the vizier (whose daughter was married to the prince Soolimân Shah), wished to place his son-in-law on the throne, and caused a furmân to be sent to Timoor Shah, prohibiting his advance. On the death of Ahmed Shah, his younger son Soolimân was proclaimed king, and the vizier who had raised him to this dignity directed the affairs of the state. Preparatory to the conquest of Heerât he invaded the province of Sind, where he was defeated by Timoor Shah, and being taken prisoner, was put to death. Soolimân then resigned the sceptre to his elder brother Timoor, who was proclaimed king in the year 1183 of the Hejiree, and continued to reign when this history was written in the year 1207 of the Hejiree.

The historians of the Mahrattas give different accounts of the origin of the name. Some say that it is not the appellation of a tribe, but the ancient name of Deogurh and its environs "Mâhrât," the inhabitants of which country were called Mahrattas; while others assert that "Dukhun" (who was the son of Ham the son of Noah) had three sons named Mâhrât, Kurnâtuk, and Tilung, and that the tribes inhabiting the Peninsula

are their descendants. The Mahrattas themselves trace their descent from the Rana of Oodipore, whose ancestor Nôshirvân was expelled from Irân in the reign of the Caliph Omar by Sââd; and one of whose descendants visiting Hindoostan, obtained the title of Rana. After the lapse of many years, one of this Rana's descendants visited the Carnatic, where on account of his high birth he was permitted to connect himself by marriage with one of the principal families, and his descendants divided into two classes, *viz.* the Bhoosla, and the Ambola. Sâhôjee Bhoosla engaged in the service of Boorhân Nizâm Shah, and afterwards in that of Ibraheem Adil Shah, who towards the end of his reign gave the pergunnah of Poona in jaghire to Sâhôjee. For two years before his death Ibraheem Adil Shah had been prevented by illness from attending to his own affairs, and Sewajee, the son of Sahojee, availed himself of this circumstance to possess himself of several of his patron's forts. On the death of Ibraheem Adil Shah, and the succession of his infant son Ullee Adil Shah, the power of Sewajee increased, and he by force or by fraud obtained possession of all the fortresses in the province of Kôkun, and built some new forts: after which he appeared in arms against his sovereign, slew Afzul Khan the commander of the young king's army, and plundered his camp. Another sirdar, named Rôstum Khan, was sent to oppose him, but met with a defeat, and Sewajee extended his conquests to the frontier of the empire of Aurungzebe,

when Shâista Khan (nephew of the empress Noor Jehân), the Soobuhdar of the Dukhun, was ordered to attack him, and for this purpose to call in the aid of Maharaja Jeswunt Sing Rahtore. Shâista Khan prepared to obey the orders of the emperor, but Sewajee surprised his camp by night, killed his son Abdool Futtéh Khan, and dispersed his army. Shâista Khan was in consequence removed from his office; Maharaja Jeswunt Sing was summoned to Delhi to answer for his negligence; and the prince Mohummud Mouzzum, attended by Jyesing Kutchwa, Dillér Khan, and other experienced officers, was sent to the Dukhun. The prince defeated Sewajee, compelled him to appear before him, and to relinquish twenty-three of his fortresses: but at the intercession of Jyesing, Sewajee's offence was forgiven, and his son Sumbajee was honoured with the titular command of five thousand men. Sewajee and Sumbajee then proceeded to Agra, and were introduced to the emperor; but being unacquainted with the etiquette of a court, and not receiving the attentions they expected, they took offence, and complained to Jyesing: this was reported to the emperor, who forbade their being again admitted to the presence, and placed guards over them to prevent their quitting Agra. At the request of Jyesing these guards were in a few weeks withdrawn, and it was the emperor's intention to have dismissed Sewajee and Sumbajee in a friendly manner; but they were weary of inaction, and after a stay of three

months and nine days they clandestinely quitted Agra, proceeded to the Dukhun, and again appeared in arms. Sewajee died on the 24th of Rubbee-ool-sanee, in the year 1091 of the Hejiree, but his son Sumbajee continued to extend his conquests, and was rendering himself master of the Dukhun, when Aurungzebe in person marched to oppose him. In several desperate battles neither party could claim a decided victory; but Sheikh Nizâm Hydrabadee (commonly called Mokurrub Khan) learning from his spies that Sumbajee, and his principal adviser Kubkullis, were at Sunguneer, forty-five koss from his camp, marched the distance in one night, and seized them both; and the emperor, after causing them to be paraded round the town on an ass, put them to death in the year 1100 of the Hejiree.

Sumbajee left two sons, Ramraje, and Raja Sâhoo, and the latter was elected chief of the Mahrattas. On the death of Aurungzebe, Raja Sâhoo became so powerful, that the inhabitants of the country, to avoid being plundered by his troops, agreed to pay him a tithe of the produce of the land, and this payment was in the reign of the weak emperor Bûhadoor Shah sanctioned by a royal furmân.

Zoolfikar Khan being appointed Soubuhdar of the Dukhun, intrusted the government to his Naib Dâood Khan, who entered into an agreement with the Mahrattas, that whatever plunder they obtained, over and above their tenth, should be shared in the proportions of three-

fourths for the royal treasury, and one-fourth for themselves: and this agreement gave rise to the demand of "*chout*,"* still claimed by the Mahrattas.

In the reign of Furrôkhsére, Syyud Hussun Ullee Khan, [one of the Syyuds of Barrah,] was appointed Soobuhdar of the Dukhun, but the emperor was soon dissatisfied with his conduct, and recalled him; doubting however his obedience, orders were issued to Raja Sâhoo to compel the Soobuhdar to leave the Dukhun. The interference of Mahomed Anwur Khan Boorhânpooree and Sungrajee Mulhar, prevented Sahoo from attending to this order, and the Syyud in return confirmed him in the possession of the Kokun, and in the receipt of his tenth and chout from the six Soobuhs of the Dukhun. The Syyud having thus secured his interest in the Dukhun, left the government to his nephew Alum Ullee Khan, and joined by a Mahratta army under Ballajee Bishoonath proceeded to Delhi, and deposed the emperor Furrôkhsére, setting up in his stead Ruffeh-ool-durjaut.

Hussun Ullee Khan unwilling to leave Delhi, yet feeling the necessity of supporting his nephew, sent back to his assistance Sungrajee Mulhar, and Ballajee Bishoonath, who took the government into their own hands, and made Alum Ullee Khan a mere cypher.

In the year 1137 of the Hejiree, in the reign of Mahomed Shah, on the death of Ballajee Bishoonath, his son and successor Bajé-rao killed Girdhur Buhadur the

* A fourth part.

Soobuhdar of Mâlwa, and was conquering the province, when the vizier Ihtimad-ood-dowla Kummur-ood-deen Khan, and Sumsam-ood-dowla Khan dowrân Khan opposed and defeated him in three pitched battles: however, his attacks on the province continued, and at length in 1148 Hejiree, he was appointed Soobuhdar of Mâlwa; when he laid siege to the fort of the Rajah of Budhâwur, then advanced to Khalka, and thence proceeded to Delhi, which city he surrounded with his troops. In the absence of the vizier, the royal army was commanded by Ameer Khan, who sustained a defeat from the rebel, nor would the Imperial city have been saved from plunder, had not Kummur-ood-deen Khan, by a forced march of seventy koss, arrived to its relief. Bajé Rao, on the approach of the vizier, collected his forces at the Serai of Aliverdi Khan, where on the following morning he was attacked, and being defeated, fled to Jyenuggur. The remainder of the royal army under Sumsâm-ood-dowla and Boorhân-ool-moolk, joined the vizier after the action; but as no advantage could be gained by a pursuit of the Mahrattas, the troops marched into Delhi. In the year 1150 of the Hejiree, the Soobuhdaree of Mâlwa was given to Asof Jâh, but he was dispossessed by Bajé Rao, who dying in 1153, was succeeded by his son Ballajee Rao.

In the year 1163 of the Hejiree, on the death of Raja Sâhoo, Ballajee Rao became chief of the Mahrattas; his cousin and principal adviser Sudasheo Rao, com-

monly called "Bhow," distinguished himself by his bravery in many hard-fought battles: nor was his cunning less than his prowess; by a well concerted plan he obtained possession of the fort of Ahmednuggur, which the Mahomedans had held for two hundred and seventy years. About this time Sudasheo-rao entertained in his service Ibraheem Khan, Gârdee, (who had learned the art of war among the Europeans,) and marched from Poonah to attack Asof Jâh Sânee, who being too weak to meet him in the field, in consequence of his large train of artillery, was obliged to sign a treaty, granting to Sudasheo Rao a territory in the vicinity of Aurungabad, yielding sixty lacs of rupees per annum; and at the same time to give up the forts of Béjapore and (Deogurh, now called) Dowlutabad.

From this digression we return to the history of Hafiz Rehmut Khan.

It has been before observed, that the pergunnah of Etawah, when given by Ahmed Shah Dooranee to Enayit Khan, was in the possession of the Mahrattas, for whose expulsion Moolla Mohsin Khan, with ten thousand horse, marched from Kutheir; he was opposed near the town of Etawah by Kishun and Balla Pundit Mahrattas, but they were defeated and fled, first to the fort of Omurgurh and afterwards across the Jumna. Moolla Mohsin Khan then laid siege to the fort of Etawah, which was given up to him by the Kelladar: but although the Mahrattas were thus driven

out of the country, little advantage accrued to Enayit Khan, as the zemeendars refused to pay the revenue, and secure in their mud forts, set his authority at defiance, till the arrival of Sheikh Kubbeer and Moolla Bâz Khan with a reinforcement of five thousand foot and a train of artillery, enabled Mohsin Khan to attack them with effect. Many of the smaller forts were levelled, and the command of the fort of Etawah was given to Rajah Bulbuddur.

A grievous famine in Méwat obliged vast numbers of the inhabitants to seek a subsistence in Hindoostan; many of these poor wretches perished on the high roads, but all who reached Kutheir were liberally provided for by Hafiz Rehmut, whose feeling heart was ever alive to the call of distress. To render these people useful, and to preserve their habits of industry, he employed them to raise a mud fortification around the town of Pillibheet, which work occupied them for two years; and at the expiration of that time, grain having become plenty in Méwat, the majority of the emigrants returned to their own country, but many became converts to Mahomedanism, and settled in Kutheir, where they are still known by the name of Méwâtees.

In the year 1176 of the Hejiree, while Hafiz Rehmut was engaged at Mehrabad, he received a letter from Ahmed Khan Bungish, informing him that Shooja-ood-dowla was on his march to invade Furrukhabad, and requesting his aid to oppose the enemy. Hafiz imme-

diately complied with the request, and pitched his camp at Futtehgurh.

On this occasion, Nujeeb-ood-dowla had advanced to Khodagunje, to join Shooja-ood-dowla, who had encamped at the Serâi of Khwaja Phool. Hafiz dispatched vakeels to inform these two chiefs that if they persisted in their intentions, the whole army of Kutheir should be brought to the aid of Ahmed Khan. They in answer offered Hafiz one-third of Ahmed Khan's territory if he would remain neuter; but nothing could induce him to forsake his old friend, and Shooja-ood-dowla was therefore compelled to give up his plans on Furrukhabad. A few days afterwards Nujeeb-ood-dowla visited Hafiz Rehmut at Futtehgurh, and as Shah Alum had accompanied Shooja-ood-dowla, they proceeded together to Serai Khwâja Phool, to pay their respects to his majesty. From thence Shah Alum accompanied Shooja-ood-dowla to Oude; Nujeeb-ood-dowla marched to his jaghire at Suharunpore, and Hafiz Rehmut returned to Kutheir, leaving his son Enayit Khan at Furrukhabad, to assist Ahmed Khan in settling his country.

In the latter end of the year 1176 Saadoolla Khan died; his death was hastened by the use of intoxicating liquors and drugs.

Although by the exertions of Moolla Mohsin Khan, the zemeendars of Etawah had been brought under subjection, those in Koomait (a pergunnah on the right

bank of the Jumna) still resisted his authority, and having strong forts situated among the ravines, which they deemed inaccessible to artillery, the revenue was entirely withheld. As Hafiz Rehmut had not yet visited his son's jaghire, he took this opportunity of gratifying his curiosity, and of reducing the refractory zemeendars; he accordingly marched to Furrukhabad, and being there joined by Enayit Khan, they proceeded together to Etawah, where Hafiz remained while his son continued his route to Koomait. The zemeendars defended themselves with great bravery, but the Afghans stormed their forts, and put to death several of the principal men, when a certain annual tribute was agreed to, and the arrears were paid up. Hafiz and his son then returned to Bareilly.

Sooraje-ood-dowla, grandson of Aliverdi Khan Muhabut Jung, the Nuwab of Bengal, had levied from the English higher duties on their merchandize than had been previously agreed to; which breach of faith they represented to their king, who sent a military force to their aid; but before its arrival, Sooraje-ood-dowla marched to Calcutta, when the English after a slight opposition quitted the town, and it was given up to plunder. The English had embarked on board their ships, and would have left the country, had not their king's troops arrived at this critical juncture; but even with this reinforcement they could not contend with Sooraje-ood-dowla, till Jaffier Ullee Khan proposed to

join them, on condition of their placing him on the musnud: which being agreed to, he advised them to make a night attack on the Nuwab's camp. This proved successful, and the Nuwab's troops fled.

On the following day Sooraje-ood-dowla was taken prisoner and put to death,[d] and Jaffier Ullee Khan was placed on the musnud. Soon after this Jaffier Ullee Khan became insane, and his eldest son Meerun having been killed by lightning, the English raised to the musnud his son-in-law Kasim Ullee Khan, and from this time they refused to pay any duties on their merchandise.

Kasim Ullee Khan fearing that they would soon deprive him of his power, treacherously murdered three hundred of their chiefs whom he had invited to an entertainment, and marched with all his forces to Calcutta, where he was opposed by the English, and being defeated, returned to Moorshidabad. Unable to retain his footing in Bengal, he fled to Oude, and solicited the aid of the Nuwab Shooja-ood-dowla, offering to pay a lac of rupees for each marching day, and half that sum for each halt. This occurred in the year 1177 of the Hejiree. The Nuwab was well inclined to accede to Kasim Ullee's request, and Hafiz Rehmut Khan was solicited to join the confederacy. Accordingly six thousand men under Enayit Khan marched from Kutheir, and joined Shooja-ood-dowla at Allahabad, whence they proceeded viâ Benares to the Caramnassa river, on the south bank of which the English army was drawn up;

but as these did not exceed four thousand men, they retreated to Patna, and entrenched themselves in the new town.

Shooja-ood-dowla with eighty thousand horse and foot followed the English, and encamped at Phoolwureea, four koss from Patna. On the following morning he advanced to the English entrenchments commanded by Colonel Carnac,(e) when a brisk fire opened on him from the batteries, whereby he lost a great number of men. A body under Bénee Buhadur then attempted to storm the batteries, but the fire from the guns mowed down their ranks, and a large proportion of them being killed the rest took to flight, and Shooja-ood-dowla returned to his encampment, where he endeavoured to prevail on his troops to attempt the storm a second time, but without effect, and many deserted from his army.

Shooja-ood-dowla then erected batteries to play on the old town of Patna, but these were of little use, and did not at all forward his plans against the English. The rainy season being near at hand,(f) all the sirdars considered it advisable to quit Patna, and to encamp at Buxar till the rains ceased; and this measure being decided on, Enayit Khan with his troops returned to Kutheir, and presented to his father five elephants, some valuable jewels, and several bales of muslins and cloths the manufacture of Bengal, which had been sent for him by Kasim Ullee Khan.

In the course of this year, a tremendous fire broke out

in the town of Bareilly which consumed more than half the houses, and about fifteen hundred persons were burned to death. Hafiz Rehmut Khan had afforded every assistance in his power to the unfortunate sufferers in this calamity, and the new buildings were rising apace, when on the 19th of Suffur, in the year 1178 of the Hejiree, at about three P.M. an earthquake threw down several of the largest houses, and shattered others; large rents were made in the earth; the reservoirs of water were emptied, and water was thrown up in places which before were dry. The shock was felt equally severely throughout the whole province of Oude, and for violence and duration was not exceeded by any on record, except that which occurred in the reign of Secunder Lodi in the year 911 of the Hejiree.

Soorujmull Jhaut (who had amassed great riches, and built the strong forts of Bhurtpore, Deeg, Koomhére, and Wyr) availed himself of Ahmed Shah Douranee's return to Kandahar, and the weakness of Jehandar Shah Juwan Bukht, who acted as Shah Alum's Naib at Delhi, to throw off his allegiance, and assembled his army to oppose the royal troops. He first marched to Akberabad (Agra), and having bribed the Kelladar, got possession of the fort; he then proceeded towards Delhi, and was opposed by Nujeeb-ood-dowla (in the Dooâb), between Jaiver and Tuppul on the banks of the Jumna, where Nujeeb-ood-dowla entrenched himself; and Soorujmull erected batteries to make his attack at leisure, while

with his horse he intercepted his adversary's supplies. One day, while Soorujmull was in a battery near to that part of the entrenchment commanded by Sydoo Ballôch, a sally was made by the royal troops, and Soorujmull was shot,* when his troops retreated to Bhurtpore.

After six months, Juwahurmull, the son of Soorujmull, aided by Mulhar Rao and twenty-five thousand Mahrattas, renewed the attack on Delhi, and surrounded the city, completely preventing the introduction of any supplies of grain. Nujeeb-ood-dowla fortified every ward of the city, encamped his troops outside the walls, and raised batteries in front of them, which were daily attacked by the enemy. The distress of the inhabitants being very great, Nujeeb-ood-dowla entreated the assistance of the Afghans of Kutheir, and at the same time applied to the Douranee for support. Hafiz Rehmut, always zealous in the cause of the faithful, readily acceded to Nujeeb-ood-dowla's request, and leaving Enayit Khan in charge of Kutheir, he marched in 1179 Hejiree to Daranugur, where he was joined by Doondee Khan, Futtéh Khan Khansaman, and Bukshee Surdar Khan, with their respective contingents. In the mean time the Sikhs had taken advantage of Nujeeb-ood-dowla's detention at Delhi, to invade the northern division of Suharunpore, and as it appeared probable that they might be tempted to advance still further, and enter

* Col. Dow says that Soorujmull was surprised, and shot while on a hunting party near to Secundrabad.

Kutheir, six thousand horse were in the first instance dispatched to expel them; and a bridge of boats was constructed for crossing the main body of the army and the artillery.

Juwahurmull and Mulhar Rao on hearing of the approach of a reinforcement under Hafiz Rehmut, redoubled their attacks on Nujeeb-ood-dowla; but when they learned that Ahmed Shah was advancing to his assistance, and had actually reached Kâbool, the Mahrattas became alarmed, and Mulhar Rao returned to the Dukhun. The defection of so large a portion of the army induced Juwahurmull to propose terms, which were agreed to by Nujeeb-ood-dowla, and a treaty being signed, the Jhauts returned to Deeg and Koomhere; while the Afghans under Hafiz encamped at Hussunpore.

In this interval the English had advanced from Patna to Buxar to attack Shooja-ood-dowla, who was prepared to meet them: but in the action,[g] the Moghuls of the Nuwab's army neglected, or refused to obey the orders which they had received, and being wholly without discipline, were completely routed. The Nuwab made his escape as speedily as possible, and the English pursued his flying squadrons to Oude and Allahabad.[h]

Shah Alum was present in this action, and remained on the field attended by about two thousand men; he was immediately invited to the English camp, where he received the honours due to his rank, and on arriving

at Allahabad, a territory yielding seventeen lacs of rupees per annum was allotted for his support.

Shooja-ood-dowla considering himself unsafe at Lucnow, sent for his family and valuables from Fyzabad, and proceeded to Bareilly in the hope of prevailing on Hafiz Rehmut to join his cause; and as Hafiz was at this time at Hussunpore, the ladies were left at Bareilly under charge of Sâlâr Jung. From Hussunpore, Hafiz and the Nuwab marched to Furrukhabad, to consult Ahmed Khan Bungish; and it was there decided that for them to join in attacking the English would be inexpedient; they therefore recommended that the Nuwab should propose to treat. Such a proposition ill suited the ardent spirit of Shooja-ood-dowla, and as the most pressing entreaties of his friends were of no avail, he quitted Furrukhabad, called in a body of Mahrattas under Mulhar Rao, and again attacked the English troops at Corah. Mulhar Rao made the first charge, but the guns of the English were so well served, that the Mahrattas fell in heaps, and unaccustomed to such opposition, they thought it best to retreat.(4) After this second defeat Shooja-ood-dowla returned to Furrukhabad, and was persuaded by Hafiz to throw himself on the mercy of the English General. However reluctant to do so, he was compelled to comply, from a conviction that none of the Afghans would act without the concurrence of Hafiz Rehmut, and he therefore, with a few private servants, set out for the British camp, accompanied by Moonshee Tég Chund, the vakeel of Hafiz.

Shooja-ood-dowla was received with respect, and having agreed to pay to the English one-sixteenth of the revenues of his country, a treaty of peace was signed,[k] and he returned to Lucnow. His family then left Bareilly under charge of the eunuch Sundul Khan, and accompanied by Iktyar Khan the Aumil of Crore, who was directed to supply them with every requisite on their journey.

Although the Mahrattas had been driven out of the pergunnahs of Etawah and Shékhoabad, they only waited a convenient opportunity for revisiting their old possessions, and Mulhar Rao being now at leisure, laid siege to the fort of Puphond, commanded by Mahomed Hussun Khan, the eldest son of Moolla Mohsin Khan. The approach of Mulhar Rao with hostile intentions had been notified to Hafiz Rehmut, who marched from Bareilly to oppose him, and on reaching Puphond was joined by that active officer Sheikh Kubbeer, who on receipt of the news had advanced from Etawah. Mulhar Rao was not prepared to expect so serious an opposition, he therefore crossed the Jumna and retired to the Dukhun.

In the year 1180 of the Hejiree, being the twentieth year of Hafiz Rehmut's government, he gave orders that henceforth no duties should be levied on any article of merchandize throughout his dominions; his sirdars strongly objected to the measure, as depriving him of a large source of revenue, and consequently disabling him

from keeping up such an army as the circumstances of the times required, but his object was to gain the affection of his subjects, and no persuasions could induce him to rescind the order. In the same year he caused the mud fortification around the town of Pillibheet to be levelled, and a brick wall to be raised in its stead, which encompassed the new town of Hafizabad, an extent of five koss* in circumference: he also built a strong fort at Jelolabad.

About this period, Shah Alum having taken up his residence at Corah, Hafiz Rehmut visited his majesty. At three koss from the town he was met by Mooneer-ood-dowla, Zoolfikar-ood-dowla, Nudjif Khan and Colonel Barker, and on the following day was introduced to his majesty Khelats were presented to all the officers in his suite, and after a few days he returned to Pillibheet, where in 1181 he built a splendid mosque at an expense of three lacs of rupees.

The active scenes in which Hafiz had been engaged, had hitherto prevented his attending to the concerns of his own family: he therefore now gladly availed himself of an interval of tranquillity to arrange the nuptials of his elder sons. As the wife of Iradut Khan, he selected the daughter of Abdoolla Khan of Shahjehanpore: and to Mahomed Yar Khan he gave in marriage the daughter of Mahomed Khan Kumâl-Zâee: in the following year (1183 Hejiree) Mohubbut Khan married the daughter of Abdool Sitar Khan, and Mahomed

* Equal to two miles and a half.

Deedar Khan (commonly called Mungul Khan) married the daughter of Mahomed Meer Khan Bâbur.

Ambition was the ruling passion of Nujeeb-ood-dowla, to gratify which he had consented to join Shooja-ood-dowla in his attack on Furrukhabad, as above related; and although since that time he had been too much engaged to revive his projects of conquest, and in too much personal danger to venture to express how much the interference of Hafiz Rehmut, on that occasion, had irritated him: yet no sooner was he relieved from his difficulties, than he planned new schemes for his own aggrandisement; and forgetful of the numberless obligations which he owed to Hafiz Rehmut, dared even to plot his ruin. An army of Mahrattas under Mahajee Scindia, Tookoojee Holkar, and Ramchunder Guneish, were invited from the Dukhun, and arrived at Delhi, where Nujeeb-ood-dowla met them, and informed the chiefs of his intention to wrest Furrukhabad from Ahmed Khan Bungish, and afterwards to invade Kutheir. Early in the year 1184 of the Hejiree, on hearing that Nujeeb-ood-dowla had advanced from Delhi, Hafiz Rehmut marched through Buddawun and Ooshyt to Kadir-choke, at which place he learned that Nujeeb-ood-dowla had been taken ill at Coel, and had retraced his steps, intending to go to his house at Nujeebabad; but that his eldest son Zabita Khan had proceeded to Furrukhabad with the Mahrattas. Nujeeb-ood-dowla's illness increased, and proved fatal on the day he reached

Hoppur: his remains were conveyed to Nujeebabad, at which place a handsome tomb is erected to his memory.

Hafiz Rehmut sent fifteen thousand horse and foot under the command of his best officers to the aid of Ahmed Khan Bungish; and in a few days he received a letter from Zabita Khan, stating that he was detained against his will in the Mahratta camp, that he was by no means disposed to join in the attack on Ahmed Khan, and that whatever his father's intentions might have been, he would not on any account oppose his brethren, the Afghans: he therefore intreated that Hafiz would devise some scheme for liberating him from the Mahrattas.

The bearer of this letter had left the Mahratta camp at Patialee about twenty-four koss above Furrukhabad; Hafiz therefore marched by Saiswan to Futtehgurh, and encamped on the east bank of the Ganges. As Ahmed Khan was at this time blind, Hafiz did not wait for the ceremony of a first visit, but, unattended, hastened to the palace to consult what was most advisable to be done. A bridge of boats was constructed as expeditiously as possible, and the remainder of the army, amounting to about twenty thousand horse and foot, crossed the Ganges, and encamped between Futtehgurh and Furrukhabad.

Hafiz Rehmut deputed Khan Mahomed Khan to treat with the Mahrattas for the release of Zabita Khan,

and for withdrawing their army from Furrukhabad. This officer was admitted to the tent of Tookoojee Holkar, who having heard his errand, communicated it to Mahajee Scindia and Ramchunder Guneish. These sirdars said that the districts of Etawah and Shékhoabad, though now held in jagheer by the family of Hafiz, had long been in their possession, and that if he would withdraw his claim to them, they would in return release Zabita Khan, withdraw their army, and never join any combination against the Afghans: but would at all times be ready to afford him assistance, when their services were required. Zabita Khan entreated Hafiz to accede to these terms; but the resignation of so valuable a jagheer was no trifling sacrifice, and Khan Mahomed Khan was again sent to obtain better terms.

While this negociation was pending, the whole of Nujeeb-ood-dowla's army arrived from Ghousgurh and Nujeebabad, and encamped at ten koss from Futtehgurh, when Zabita Khan took advantage of a dark night to escape from the Mahrattas, joined his troops, and returned home.

The Mahrattas now prepared to carry on the war alone, and in several actions defeated the Afghans, who by no means kept up their former character. Hafiz was so much dissatisfied with the conduct of his troops, that he had given orders for their recrossing the Ganges, when the Mahrattas of their own accord broke up their

camp and marched to Etawah, nor could the Afghans be prevailed on to pursue them.

Enayit Khan was summoned to Furrukhabad, that he might be consulted as to the expediency of resigning his jagheer, but he was by no means inclined to agree to the proposal, and requested permission to select from the army a body of men on whom he could depend, with whom he engaged to expel the Mahrattas from the country; but his father observed that no confidence could now be placed in the army, and that if Enayit Khan should advance relying on their bravery, he would sacrifice his life for no purpose, as they would undoubtedly forsake him in the hour of need. Enayit Khan then recommended that the Russaladars should be dismissed, and others appointed; and that a few of those who had disgraced themselves in action, should be brought to condign punishment; but Hafiz could not be prevailed on to punish men whom he had brought up, and Enayit Khan returned in disgust to Bareilly; Doondee Khan readily agreed to give up his claim to Shekhoabad, and Hafiz Rehmut then sent orders to Sheikh Kubbeer to resign the fort of Etawah to the Mahrattas, after taking from them an engagement signed by each of the sirdars, to the effect proposed by them to Khan Mahomed Khan.

Before the receipt of this order, the Mahrattas had arrived at Etawah, where Sheikh Kubbeer gave them battle, and repulsed several desperate attacks on his

fort, when the Mahrattas finding that they had no common antagonist, resorted to negotiation, and sent a vakeel to enquire the cause of Sheikh Kubbeer's opposition, when he must know that his master had resigned the district to them; to which the Sheikh answered, that he knew but too well the agreement which deprived his master of so valuable a possession, and that he was prepared to have evacuated the fort on receiving from them the signed treaty, had possession been demanded: but that as they preferred attempting to take the fort by storm, he was determined to shew them that some brave men yet remained among the Afghans. He added, that having laid in a store of grain for the use of the garrison, he must be paid its value, which was settled at a lac of rupees; and on receiving this sum with the treaty, he delivered up the fort.

The bravery and address of Sheikh Kubbeer so pleased the Mahrattas, that they wished to engage him in their service, and for this purpose made him many tempting offers, but his fidelity was not to be shaken: they therefore made him a handsome present and dismissed him. Sheikh Kubbeer joined Hafiz at Furrukhabad, when the whole party returned to Bareilly, after an absence of eight months.

In the beginning of the year 1185 of the Hejiree, Doondee Khan died at Bissowlee; he was the son of Hussun Khan the elder brother of Shah Alum Khan, and consequently first cousin to Hafiz Rehmut, who as

well from his near relationship, as from the sincere regard which he had borne to the deceased, caused a magnificent tomb to be erected to his memory. When the forty days of mourning were over, Hafiz divided the territory of Doondee Khan into three portions; one of which he gave to his eldest son Mohib-oolla Khan, one to his second son Futteh-oolla Khan, and the remaining third to be shared equally between the widow of Doondee Khan, and her youngest son Azeem-oolla Khan.

The late Nujeeb-ood-dowla had married a daughter of Doondee Khan's, by whom he had two sons, Kulloo Khan and Mulloo Khan, who after the death of their father had been confined by their half brother Zabita Khan. On the release of these her grandchildren, the widow of Doondee Khan requested Hafiz to insist; accordingly, when presenting to Zabita Khan the khelat (or honorary dress usually given by the head of the family on the occasion of a death) he demanded the release of these young men, which was granted, and certain lands were set apart for their support: at the same time Hafiz admonished them to pay proper respect to Zabita Khan as their superior, on failure of which he could not protect them

Scarcely could it be said that Ahmed Khan Bungish was relieved from his difficulties, when, notwithstanding his old age and loss of sight, new projects of ambition and revenge arose in his mind. The death of Nujeeb-ood-dowla, and the residence of Zabita Khan at Nu-

jeebabad, suggested to him the possibility of placing Shah Alum on the throne of Delhi, with the aid of the Mahrattas; and thereby of securing to himself all that power in the imperial court which had hitherto been Nujeeb-ood-dowla's. The proposition was eagerly accepted by Shah Alum, and he commenced his march from Allahabad; but ere he reached Furrukhabad, the mortal career of Ahmed Khan had closed.

Shah Alum continued his journey to Delhi, escorted by the Mahrattas,(v) and invited Hafiz to join him; directing him at the same time to exert his influence in preventing Zabita Khan from interfering with the court of Delhi. Hafiz replied, that severe indisposition deprived him of the honour of attending his Majesty; but that he would make known to Zabita Khan the king's commands, and should he disregard them, his Majesty might rest assured that no assistance should be given to him by the Afghans of Kutheir.

Fyzoolla Khan (whose sister was married to Zabita Khan) was selected by Hafiz to convey to Zabita Khan the orders of the King: but that young man was little disposed to relinquish a post of honour so long held by his father, and finding that he had nothing to expect from the favour of Shah Alum, he prepared to enforce his claim by the sword. Fyzoolla Khan communicated to Hafiz the ill success of his mission, when Sheikh Kubbeer was dispatched to dissuade Zabita Khan from so rash an enterprise; but before he reached Nujeebabad.

Zabita Khan with his troops had crossed the Ganges and taken post at Sookurthal. Fyzoolla Khan and Sheikh Kubbeer, with their forces, encamped on the east bank of the Ganges to await the result.

The advance of Zabita Khan with hostile intentions was soon known at Delhi, and Shah Alum with the Mahratta army marched to oppose him. On reaching Sookurthal, they found that Zabita Khan determined to keep within his entrenchments: the Mahrattas therefore left a small body to watch him, while the main body, with the king at their head, crossed the Ganges at a ford near Chandee Ghaut, with the intention of plundering the country, and seizing the treasure amassed by Nujeeb-ood-dowla. A little battery commanded by Kurm Khan had been erected near to the ford, and two detachments under Sadik Khan and Saadut Khan opposed the passage of the river; but these were soon dispersed, and the battery was stormed with a trifling loss to the assailants.

When Zabita Khan learned that the Mahrattas had entered his country, he re-crossed the Ganges, and solicited aid and advice from Fyzoolla Khan and Sheikh Kubbeer. The former said that as the Mahrattas had now entered Rohilcund, it was impossible to foresee how far they might penetrate; that he should therefore proceed immediately to Rampore to provide for the safety of his family. Zabita Khan was so distracted by this sudden invasion, that he lost all his presence of mind;

and without having attempted the slightest resistance, mounted the elephant with Fyzoolla Khan and accompanied him to Rampore. The troops thus forsaken by their leader, dispersed to their respective homes; and Sheikh Kubbeer with his own and Fyzoolla Khan's forces marched to Bareilly. The town of Nujeebabad was given up to plunder, and the Mahrattas invested the fort of Nujifghur, in which the family of Zabita Khan resided. This fort being built of stone, was capable of holding out for a length of time, but Zabita Khan with his usual imprudence had neglected to lay in a store of provisions, and as no supplies could be procured from without, the gates were opened in a few days, and the families of Nujeeb-ood-dowla and Zabita Khan fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, with an immense treasure, the accumulation of a series of years.

These events occurred while Hafiz Rehmut was at Furrukhabad (whither he had gone on the demise of Ahmed Khan Bungish), and the news of them reached him on his return, at Tilhur, and induced him to hasten to Bareilly: but before his arrival, Bukshee Surdar Khan, Futteh Khan Khonsuman, Abdool Sitar Khan, from Ownlah, Mohiboolla Khan and Futteh-oolla Khan from Bissowlee, with their respective families, had fled to Pillibheet. Hafiz having assembled the sirdars, endeavoured to quiet their alarms by the assurance that neither Shah Alum, nor the Mahrattas, had any inten-

tion of molesting him: but they replied, that such an army having once crossed the Ganges, could not be withheld from plundering Kutheir; and that as no stand could be made either at Bareilly or Pillibheet, it was most advisable to send their families to the hills: to which Hafiz reluctantly assented; and the women and children were accordingly conveyed to Nanikmutta. Enayit Khan was left in charge of Pillibheet, and Hafiz proceeded to Gungapore (about four koss from Nanikmutta), where he was joined by Zabita Khan, then on his route to Shahabad, to solicit the aid of Shooja-ood-dowla, the Nuwab of Oude.

The Nuwab had no confidence in Zabita Khan, and refused to interfere, unless Hafiz Rehmut should apply to him; but as the Mahrattas had advanced to Amroha, Mooradabad, and Sumbul, Hafiz deemed it inexpedient to absent himself, and dispatched Enayit Khan in his stead: still Shooja-ood-dowla declined interfering, and Mr. Harper (who held the office of collector of the péshcush) was deputed to bring Hafiz Rehmut to the conference. Finding that nothing could be done without him, he fortified his camp, and then with an escort of four thousand men, accompanied Mr. Harper to Shahabad. This occurred in the year 1186 of the Hejirec, corresponding with A. D. 1772.

On the arrival of Hafiz Rehmut, vakeels were sent to the King and the Mahratta Sirdars, to solicit the release of the family of Zabita Khan, the restoration of

his estates, and to treat for the evacuation of Rohilkund by the enemy; to whom his Majesty stated that unless in self-defence, he should never have molested Zabita Khan, or taken away his jagheer; that he was now satisfied with the punishment which he had inflicted, and that if the expenses of the campaign, amounting to fifty lacs of rupees, were paid, he would lead back his army to Delhi, and release Zabita Khan's family. A second deputation was sent, when the Mahrattas agreed to accept forty lacs of rupees, provided that Shooja-ood-dowla made himself responsible for the payment. The Nuwab declined entering into such an engagement, unless Hafiz gave him a bond for the money, adding, that he would not have acted as mediator, but from regard to Hafiz, whose country was now invaded. The whole of the Afghan sirdars entreated Hafiz to consent, promising to contribute their quotas towards its discharge, on which the deed was executed; and Shooja-ood-dowla having made himself responsible to the Mahrattas, they quitted Kutheir. leaving the family of Zabita Khan at Bareilly.

The Afghan sirdars, with their families, lost no time in leaving the hills, as independent of their sufferings from the want of proper accommodations, not less than eight thousand persons had died from the insalubrity of the climate, during their four months' stay at Nanikmutta. When Hafiz Rehmut arrived at Bareilly, he sent from his own treasury five lacs of rupees to Shooja-

ood-dowla, in part payment of his bond, but each of the sirdars pleaded poverty in excuse for the non-fulfilment of their engagement.

Early in the year 1187 of the Hejiree, Bukshee Surdar Khan died at Ownlah, at the advanced age of one hundred years. He was one of the original followers of Dâood Khan, and had been appointed paymaster of the troops by Ullee Mahomed Khan, which office he held till his decease. His eldest son, Ahmed Khan, solicited the appointment in succession to his father, and offered a nuzzur of sixty thousand rupees; while Mahomed Khan, the younger son, offered a nuzzur of three lacs of rupees, and entreated that he might be appointed in preference to his brother, who wanted the situation, solely that he might be able to take possession of the family property to the prejudice of the juniors. Hafiz Rehmut considered Ahmed Khan to have the best claim to the situation on account of his seniority, and accordingly appointed him Bukshee, when Mahomed Khan quitted the country, and Saadut Khan, his youngest brother, joined Hafiz at Bareilly. Ahmed Khan on taking possession of his new office, and of the wealth left by his father, became negligent of his duty, omitted to send the nuzzur which he had proffered, and (as will hereafter appear,) was one of the first to join a plot for the ruin of his patron.

In consequence of the mortality which had occurred among the troops while encamped at Gungapore and

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Nanikmutta, the russalas were very incomplete, and Enayit Khan represented to his father the necessity of raising new levies to supply the place of those who had died. Hafiz said, that having allowed the widows and children of the deceased to receive as pensions the allowances originally granted to their husbands and fathers, his funds would not admit of his entertaining an equal number of new levies, but that Enayit Khan would do well to raise two or three thousand men, selecting them from among the troops of Zabita Khan, who since his defeat had been unemployed, and for this purpose Enayit Khan went to Bareilly.

The advice given by Enayit Khan to his father, on the occasion of the misconduct of the army at Furrukhabad, had caused him to be disliked by the sirdars; and the pusillanimous conduct of the sirdars on the invasion of the Mahrattas, added to their selfishness in refusing to contribute towards a payment, for which they had intreated Hafiz to become answerable, rendered them contemptible in the eyes of this high-spirited young man. No sooner, therefore, had Enayit Khan entertained these new levies, than the sirdars represented him as preparing a force to oppose his father. For a time Hafiz refused to listen to insinuations so derogatory to the character of his son; but when frequently repeated, he desired Enayit Khan to enlist no more, and to discharge those whom he had entertained. The order to desist from further levies was readily obeyed, but it was

represented to Hafiz that the three thousand men already entertained in conformity to his orders, could not with propriety be discharged, and that it was necessary to provide for their regular payment. On receipt of this answer Hafiz visited Bareilly, and meeting his son as usual, his suspicions were for the time dissipated; but Enayit Khan very imprudently continued to enlist more men, and thus gave a colour of truth to the slanders perpetually whispered to his prejudice, when Hafiz returned to Pillibheet and gave orders for assembling his forces. In a few days he marched, and encamped on the banks of the Nukteea Nuddee, where he remained inactive four days, in the hope that his son would return to his duty. In this interval Sheikh Kubbeer died, in whom Hafiz lost his best officer; his troops alone had retained their character for bravery, and the Sheikh had on every occasion distinguished himself as a good politician, as well as a good commander. Moostukeem Khan was immediately promoted to his father's situation. Enayit Khan had depended on obtaining his father's pardon, through the intercession of Sheikh Kubbeer, and was consequently the more afflicted at his death at this critical juncture; nor could he apply to any other of the sirdars, all of whom he knew to be his enemies; thus circumstanced, he barricaded the streets of Bareilly, and himself remained in the fort with his two younger brothers Deedar Khan and Allayar Khan.

Finding that his son prepared to oppose him, Hafiz

sent his artillery to the west side of the fort, and gave orders for its being battered to the ground; but Enayit Khan seized the families of such of the sirdars as resided in the town, and placed them in the fort opposite to the guns, saying, that those who had caused this quarrel, should be the first to suffer from the effects of it. Afzul Khan and Sooltân Khan (uncles of Zabita Khan) reported this to Hafiz, who directed that the attack should be postponed; and after a time they prevailed on him to sign a grant of the pergunnahs of Fureedpore, and Sulémpore Jooxa, as a jaidad for the new levies, which document they carried into the fort. Enayit Khan told them that he knew how it had been obtained, and that his father did not intend to adhere to it; that he should nevertheless march and take possession of the pergunnahs, and that if any of his enemies chose to follow, he would meet them in the field. After three days, Enayit Khan, at the head of five thousand men, marched out of Bareilly, and encamped at Bearee, on the banks of the Ramgunga; on the following day he proceeded to Kookree, a distance of about ten koss. Hafiz Rehmut without entering the town marched to Sirdar-nuggur, and three days were spent in crossing the army over the river; on the fourth day he encamped within two koss of Kookree. Early on the morning of the fifth day, Abdoolla Khan, Khan Mahomed Khan, and Syyud Kasim Shah, with fifteen thousand men, proceeded to the attack of Enayit Khan, who at the head of his forces advanced

to meet them, and rushing into the division commanded by Abdoolla Khan, defeated them with great slaughter; their commander had a narrow escape for his life, and on quitting the field he hastily retreated to his house at Shahjehanpore. Mahomed Deedar Khan attacked the next division commanded by Bukshee Ahmed Khan, and having wounded their leader, the whole body returned to camp. Enayit Khan withdrew to Kookree, but some of his men pursued the fugitives, and obtained a considerable number of cattle.

Intelligence of this engagement was communicated to Hafiz just as he had finished his morning prayer, and he immediately set off to meet Enayit Khan's men, expecting to find his son with them. On his approach, they had taken post in a waste village, and from behind old walls kept up a running fire of matchlocks. Hafiz was so much enraged, that his prudence forsook him, and he advanced so close to them, that it was astonishing he had not fallen a victim to his rashness, as his bow was shot out of his hand, and several of his followers were killed: the artillery, however, soon came up, and a few rounds sufficed to dislodge the rebels, who were obliged to beg for quarter. Hafiz now sent Shah Mahomed Khan and Iradut Khan to inform Enayit Khan, that hitherto he had wished to avoid the distressing spectacle of a father opposed to his son in the field, but that it was now inevitable, and that on the ensuing morning they must meet in arms. Enayit Khan

answered, that nothing would gratify him more than an opportunity of meeting those who, for their own malignant purposes, had defamed his character, but that he neither could, nor would oppose his father, and requested admission to his presence; but to this Hafiz would not consent, and next morning marched out with his troops. Enayit Khan left Deedar Khan in charge of the camp, and advanced with only twenty men to meet his father, sending forward a horseman to announce his approach to Moostukeem Khan, who dismounted to receive him, and notified his arrival. Hafiz desired that he might be sent back to his camp, and directed to make the best resistance he could, but he insisted on throwing himself at the feet of his father. Hafiz told him that if he yet entertained any thoughts of offering opposition, there was still time to do so; and if not, he must prepare himself for imprisonment: to which Enayit Khan answered that he cheerfully resigned himself to his father's pleasure; and he was then committed to the care of Fyzoolla Khan.

After a few hours Molovee Gholam Jeelanee, and Bilas-roy Bukshee of the Khas Russala, waited on him by order of Hafiz, and desired that he would send some person to disband his followers, and to restore the elephants and horses plundered on the preceding morning, on which conditions his pardon would be granted. Enayit Khan in vain urged the improbability of the cattle being given up while he remained in confinement;

and that he had no person with him whom he could send to disband his followers. These objections Hafiz would not listen to, and insisted that if his orders were not obeyed, Enayit Khan should leave the country.

On the second day, Enayit Khan clearly saw that his enemies would not permit a reconciliation to take place between him and his father: he therefore returned to his camp, and sending back to Hafiz the elephants and horses which had been captured, proceeded to the province of Oude.

Enayit Khan joined the camp of the Nuwab Vizier Shooja-ood-dowla at Tooryee, seven koss from Fyzabad, and was conducted by Saadut Ullee Khan and Moorteza Khan Bahraitch to the Nuwab's tents, while his followers encamped at a little distance. In the course of conversation, Shooja-ood-dowla one day speaking of the number of his troops and the expense of his military establishments, observed, that an increase of territory had become absolutely necessary; and as except Kutheir, no other country lay open to him, Enayit Khan remarked to his brother Deedar Khan, that before the Nuwab carried his scheme into execution, it behoved them to leave his camp, and to prepare their father for the contest.

Soon after this Shooja-ood-dowla returned to Lucnow, when he presented to Enayit Khan twenty thousand rupees for his expenses, and promised to allot a certain portion of territory as a jâidâd for his followers. From

Lucnow they proceeded to Mindee Ghaut, when Enayit Khan took leave of the Nuwab and returned to Kutheir.

On reaching Shahjehanpore, Enayit Khan received orders from Hafiz to disband his followers, and appear before him unattended; and he accordingly arrived at his aunt's house in Bareilly with only twenty-five servants.

At this period the vakeels of Mahajee Scindia and Tookoojee Holkar, waited on Hafiz Rehmut with a message from their masters, purporting that it was their intention to attack Shooja-ood-dowla, and proposing that in the event of Hafiz joining the confederacy, half the country which they might wrest from the Nuwab should be given to him; or if he preferred remaining neuter, they would make over to him Shooja-ood-dowla's bond for the forty lacs of rupees, on condition of his not opposing them while crossing the Ganges, or during their march. They moreover added, that in the event of his rejecting both these propositions, the Mahrattas would lay waste and plunder his country. Hafiz answered, that through life he had made it a rule never to join the infidels in opposing the faithful; that he would not be allured into a deviation from the path of duty by their tempting offers; and that he was ready to stand by the consequences which might ensue from such a decision.

Hafiz Rehmut made known to Shooja-ood-dowla the

propositions of the Mahrattas, said that he should without delay prepare his army to take the field, advised the Nuwab to lose no time in guarding the Ghauts, and concluded by requesting the return of his bond, as the money for the payment of which Shooja-ood-dowla had made himself responsible, had not yet been sent, nor could it be supposed that the Nuwab would now consider his engagement binding: as a necessary consequence of which, his claim on Hafiz ceased. Shooja-ood-dowla dispatched Syyud Shah Muddun as his vakeel, to express how much he felt indebted to Hafiz for his conduct on the occasion, to communicate to him the arrangements which had been made for the assembly of the army, and to promise the restitution of the bond as soon as the Mahrattas were defeated.

A body of the Mahrattas crossed the Ganges at Ramghaut; to oppose whom, Bukshee Ahmed Khan, with a small force, was sent in advance, while Hafiz collected the army at Bissowlee. The Bukshee was attacked at Asudpore by a squadron of the Mahratta horse, but repulsed them, and sent to Bissowlee for reinforcements; but before they could reach him, a larger body of Mahrattas attacked, defeated, and took him prisoner.

The sirdars were extremely dilatory in joining the standard of their chief, and as yet only about six thousand men were assembled, with which small force Hafiz proposed to march. His officers remonstrated

against so rash an enterprise, and urged his waiting the arrival of further aid, as in the fort of Bissowlee he was perfectly secure. Hafiz indignantly answered, that he had never declined to meet an enemy in the field, and would not in his old age be indebted for security to a fortress, but that such as were afraid to follow him were at liberty to quit the camp; and of this permission not a few availed themselves. About this period Enayit Khan died in the 31st year of his age, and in the year 1187 of the Hejiree.

Hafiz Rehmut, with only two thousand men, marched to Asudpore, but in the evening he was joined by Mohiboolla Khan and Moostukeem Khan, with seven thousand men, and during the night several other sirdars arrived, so that his force amounted to about twelve thousand horse and foot. Still the officers were unwilling to engage, till a messenger arrived from Shooja-ood-dowla to desire an immediate junction with his army, as he proposed to attack the Mahrattas without delay. The troops were immediately put in motion, and in the general action which ensued the Mahrattas were completely routed. Mahajee Scindia recrossed the Ganges over a bridge of boats, taking with him his prisoner Bukshee Ahmed Khan. Tookoojee Holkar unable to find a ford, fled towards Sumbul and Mooradabad; but being closely pursued by Hafiz, he again made towards the Ganges, and crossed at Buboonta Ghaut. General Champion and Mohiboolla Khan, with a part of the Nuwab's

troops, in the mean time pursued Mahajee Scindia and plundered his camp. A sum of two lacs of rupees was paid for the release of Bukshee Ahmed Khan, and the camp was broken up, when the Mahrattas quitted Delhi on their return to the Dukhun.

On the return of Shooja-ood-dowla to Oude, Hafiz sent Mahomed Khan and Abdoolla Khan to demand the restitution of his bond. The Nuwab denied having made any promise to restore it, or having authorized his vakeel so to do. The agents of Hafiz urged the generosity of their master's conduct in refusing the tempting offers which had been made to him by the Mahrattas, and produced the Nuwab's letters, whereby he bound himself to abide by the engagements entered into by his vakeel; they therefore insisted that the vakeel should be called on to declare whether or not he had, on the behalf of the Nuwab, engaged to restore the bond as soon as the Mahrattas were defeated. Shah Muddun was accordingly summoned, and declared that he had made the promise by authority from the Nuwab: this the Nuwab denied; and Shah Muddun, indignant at being charged with falsehood, retorted it on Shooja-ood-dowla. The agents of Hafiz supported the Shah, and expressed freely their opinions of the Nuwab's duplicity, and the parties separated in anger. Khan Mahomed Khan and Abdoolla Khan returned to Bareilly and reported the ill-success of their mission; but Hafiz did not find it convenient to come to an open rupture with

the Nuwab, and was therefore obliged to stifle his resentment.

About this period died Abdool Sitar Khan and Futteh Khan Khansuman; the former was succeeded by his son Abdool Jubar Khan, and the latter by his son Irshidad Ahmed Khan. Hafiz Rehmut remained a short time at Hafizabad, to celebrate the marriages of his sons Zoolfikar Khan and Hoormut Khan.

During the time that the army had been encamped near Asudpore, Shooja-ood-dowla had seduced from their allegiance to Hafiz a considerable number of the sirdars, and as the Nuwab's intention to make himself master of Kutheir was no secret, several of them kept up a constant correspondence with him after his return to Oude. At the head of these ingrates were Bukshee Ahmed Khan, and the two sons of Doondee Khan, Mohiboolla and Futteh-oolla. To confirm them in their purpose, Shooja-ood-dowla inserted in a copy of the Koran the engagement which he had made with them, to which he affixed his seal, and this document being shewn by the malcontents, many more joined the confederacy. Moostushim Khan (son of Dillér Khan) actually received from the Nuwab an advance of fifty thousand rupees for the purpose of enlisting men for his service. These occurrences did not escape the notice of Hafiz Rehmut, and he caused Moostushim Khan to be apprehended, and brought before him. The criminal confessed his guilt and begged for pardon, which Hafiz

granted from respect to the memory of his father: but the wretch, on quitting the presence of Hafiz, fled to Shooja-ood-dowla's camp.

At this time Shooja-ood-dowla was engaged in an attempt to expel the Mahrattas from the pergunnas of Etawah and Shekhoabad, to which Hafiz objected, stating that these pergunnas had been given to his family by Ahmed Shah Douranee; and although by the chances of war he had been compelled to relinquish them for a time, yet that he had by no means given up his claim to them: that even at this moment he had it in contemplation to send a military force for the expulsion of the Mahratta Aumil: and that Shooja-ood-dowla's present conduct was highly ungenerous, and inconsistent with the friendship which had so long subsisted beeween them. The Nuwab replied, that the pergunnas in question having been conquered by the Mahrattas, the claim of Hafiz, on the plea of a gift from the Shah, had entirely ceased: that he felt himself as much at liberty to invade these pergunnas as any other part of the Mahratta territory, and that having been successful, he should not relinquish his conquest. Hafiz again urged the point in stronger terms, when the Nuwab told him that he would consider about the restoration of the pergunnas, and in the mean time desired that Hafiz would discharge the balance of thirty-five lacs of rupees due on his bond; but this was merely to afford him a pretext for invading Kutheir, and for this purpose he began to assemble his army.

As Hafiz Rehmut had during the last few years lost his best officers, and could place little confidence in those who remained, he was conscious of his inability to oppose Shooja-ood-dowla, and therefore offered to pay as much of the forty lacs of rupees as the Nuwab had paid to the Mahrattas; but this proposition was rejected, and with a British force in addition to his own, Shooja-ood-dowla advanced to the Ganges.

Puhar Sing, the deewan of Hafiz, strongly advised his master not to risk a battle, and offered to find funds for the payment of the thirty-five lacs of rupees, if Hafiz would permit him to wait on Colonel Champion, through whose mediation a reasonable period for discharging the debt might be fixed; but Hafiz said, that as he had not the money, and as none of the sirdars were willing to contribute towards the payment, he would not borrow, and was prepared to die in defence of his country. Puhar Sing again offered to procure the money from some Muhajins, but Hafiz would not consent, observing that as he must die some time, he could not fall in a better cause.

Hafiz Rehmut had assembled his troops at Ownlah, with the intention of opposing the Nuwab as he crossed the Ganges, when his spies brought intelligence that Shooja-ood-dowla had changed his route, and was marching viâ Furrukhabad to Mindee Ghaut, to cross the Ganges in his own dominions, and enter Kutheir from Shahabad. Hafiz immediately moved to Tanda,

where he received a letter from Mohiboolla Khan, excusing his non-attendance on the plea of a want of cash. A sum of ninety thousand rupees had been borrowed from Irshidad Ahmed Khan, of which Hafiz desired his treasurer Saadut Khan to send twenty-five thousand to Mohiboolla Khan. The treasurer objected to the gift of so large a sum to a man who only pleaded poverty as a veil to cover his treachery, but Hafiz would not listen to any report unfavourable to Mohiboolla Khan, and insisted that at least fifteen thousand rupees should be sent.

The army being reinforced by large bodies of the Rajpoot Zemindars, and also by the Pathans from Mow and Furrukhabad, they marched from Tanda to Fureedpore; and Shooja-ood-dowla advanced from Shahabad to Shahjehanpore, where he was received and entertained by Abdoolla Khan, who afforded him great assistance, and enabled his troops to proceed to Tilhur. Hafiz also advanced from Fureedpore to Kuttra, only seven koss from Tilhur; but the mangoe orchards around Kuttra, in which the troops were encamped, were so thick that it was not deemed advisable to attack them in such a position, and Shooja-ood-dowla, at the suggestion of Colonel Champion, gave out that he intended to attack Pillibheet, where the family of Hafiz resided, and he made a movement in that direction. This manœuvre succeeded, and Hafiz ordered his troops to assemble in the plain, preparatory to their march to Pillibheet.

The sirdars advised him to entrench himself at Kuttra, and to delay an action, as his army was daily increasing by the arrival of the Rajpoot tribes; but fearful for the safety of his family, he insisted on hastening to Pillibheet.

On Saturday, the 11th of the month Suffur, in the year 1188 of the Hejirce, corresponding with the 23d of April, A.D. 1774, Shooja-ood-dowla advanced from Tilhur with an army amounting to a lac and fifteen thousand horse and foot. The principal sirdars were Meer Ahmed, who commanded twenty-two thousand infantry and an immense train of artillery; Russunt Ullee Khan with fourteen thousand men; Muhboob Ullee Khan with nine thousand; The eunuch Lutafut with seven thousand; Syyud Ullee Khan with four thousand, and many others of less note; besides seven thousand men under the command of Colonel Champion. When the spies gave notice of the approach of the enemy, Hafiz Rehmut went to the tent of Fyzoolla Khan, and desired him to fight boldly so long as he (Hafiz) remained alive; but as soon as he should fall, to make his escape to Pillibheet, and take the females of the family to the hills. Having given these instructions he mounted his horse, and with ten thousand men advanced to the front of the army, which was now within the range of the enemy's guns. The action soon became general: Moostukeem Khan advanced on the left wing, and was joined by Mohiboolla Khan with four

hundred men, when they attacked the division commanded by Colonel Champion. Eyzoolla Khan distinguished himself and took a village in the rear of the enemy, from whence he opened a destructive fire on them, and Hafiz was seen galloping about in every direction, giving his orders with the most perfect coolness. At this time, Bukshee Ahmed Khan, who had already been bribed by Shooja-ood-dowla, pretending that his men would not stand in so hot a fire, quitted his post, and went over to the enemy. The defection of so large a body occasioned a general panic; many took to flight, and several of the chiefs followed the example of the Bukshee. A messenger now arrived from Moostukeem Khan, to say that he should be overpowered unless a reinforcement reached him immediately. Hafiz hastened to join him, and on the way his horse was shot under him; another was brought, and at a little distance he met Moostukeem Khan flying before the enemy. Abid Khan now intreated Hafiz to make his escape, as the day could not be recovered, but he refused to listen to this advice, and with the small remnant of his army rushed in amongst the enemy: though wounded in several places, he continued to distribute death around him, till a cannon shot struck him in the breast, and removed him to a better world.

The fall of Hafiz was the signal for a general flight; the men returned to their respective homes, with the

exception of a small body who accompanied Fyzoolla Khan and Ahmed Yar Khan to Bareilly. A Suwar, named Sooltan Khan, severed the head of Hafiz from the body, and carried it in triumph to Shooja-ood-dowla, who placed it and the body in a palanquin, covered it with shawls, and sent it to Bareilly. The principal inhabitants of the town went out to meet the body, and after the proper forms had been observed, it was interred. Hafiz Rehmut was sixty-seven years of age, and had governed the province of Kutheir twenty-seven years and some months.

The liberality of Hafiz Rehmut was evinced in numberless instances. Throughout his dominions he abolished taxes of every denomination, whether on exports or imports, though these imposts had yielded many lacs of rupees annually; nor would he revive this odious demand, even when his finances were at their lowest ebb. In his various wars, the widows of those who fell in action were supported in affluence, and the sons received the pay of their deceased parents, till they were of an age to be enrolled among his troops. During the government of Ullee Mahomed Khan, all the rent-free lands formerly granted to learned and pious men, or to indigent families, had been resumed, and a small annual payment substituted; the whole of these lands were restored by Hafiz, and numberless new pensions were granted; in conferring which obligations, Hafiz would regret his inability to make the amount larger, and

by his manner appeared to be rather receiving, than conferring a favour.

Hafiz Rehmut was of the sect of the Soonces, as indeed are all the Afghans. During the month of Ramzân he observed a strict fast, read through the whole of the Koran in private, besides hearing portions of it daily read in public; during the last ten days of the month, all worldly concerns were laid aside, and he sat in the mosque absorbed in prayer and meditation. At the Eed-ool-Zohau, he offered annually for sacrifice two camels, and several thousand sheep and goats; and at the Eed-ool-Fittur many thousand maunds of wheat were distributed to the poor, besides small donations in money. During thirteen days of the Mohurrum, the nôbut was not sounded, and each day bread and shirbet was distributed to every one who attended to receive it. From the 7th to the 10th of the month, all the Syyuds* were assembled, when Hafiz waited on them as a servant, and with his own hands presented their food; after which they were dismissed with suitable presents: the same form was observed with the Sheikhs; after which the lame and the blind, widows, and orphans, were amply supplied from his store-house, and called down blessings on his head. From the 1st to the 12th of the month Rubbee-ool-awul, the poor and needy received a similar daily supply. So strict was Hafiz in his observance of the precepts of the prophet regarding liquors, or intoxicating drugs, that he would not even

* Descendants of the Prophet.

allow himself the indulgence of eating paun,* or any spices, or of smoking a kullian, nor would he wear silken clothing. It was his daily practice to rise three hours before the sun, and after ablution, to commence his devotions. Kneeling with his face turned towards Mecca, he first read a portion of the Koran, and then some other devotional work, till the day broke, at which time he repaired to the mosque, and continued his devotions till sunrise. At that hour he went to the Deewân-Aum, to give orders respecting the government of the country, and to receive the petitions of all those who had to complain of any grievance; at two hours after sunrise, the third prayers were offered up in the Deewân-Khas, after which the reports received from the several Aumils were read, and the necessary orders were issued. At noon he made his principal meal, then took a short repose; and when three hours of the day remained, he offered up his fourth prayer and returned to business, which occupied him till near sunset, when the fifth act of devotion was observed in the presence of, and in concert with all the holy and learned men of the town, with whom he conversed on religious topics till dark; and this was the time for the sixth prayers. When three hours of the night were passed, he partook of a second meal in a select society, and all poor children were at that time admitted to his house and received a supply of food. At midnight the party broke up, and he retired to rest.

* An aromatic leaf much used in India.

It is not surprising that a ruler who studied so little his own ease, whose whole life was spent in performing his duty to his God and to his fellow creatures, should have been beloved in life, and regretted in death: indeed his fall caused a general mourning throughout Kutheir.

The family of Hafiz Rehmut were:

1. Enayit Khan, who died before his father.
2. Himmut Khan, who died of the small-pox at thirteen years of age.
3. Iradut Khan.
4. Mohubbut Khan.
5. Hafiz Mahomed Yar Khan.
6. Mahomed Deedar Khan.
7. Mahomed Zoolfikar Khan.
8. Mahomed Allayar Khan.
9. Azmut Khan.
10. Hoormut Khan.
11. Gholam Moostufa Khan.
12. Mahomed Omur Khan.
13. Mahomed Moostujab Khan, the author of this Memoir.
14. Mahomed Akber Khan.

1st daughter married to Mullik Shaddee Khan.

2d daughter married to Futteh-oolla, son of Doondee Khan.

3d daughter married to Syyud Mahomed Khan, the son of Hafiz's sister.

4th daughter married to Jumshân Khan, the grandson of Mullik Shaddee Khan.

5th daughter married to Akber Shah Khan.

6th daughter married to Ahmed Khan

7th daughter married to Runmust Khan.

8th daughter married to Shah Mahomed Khan, the grandson of Hafiz's sister.

9th daughter married to Ahmed Khan.

After the defeat at Kuttra, Mohubbut Khan, Hafiz Mahomed Yar Khan, Mahomed Deedar Khan, Allayar Khan, and Azmut Khan made their escape to Pillibheet, where the sirdars assembled to consult what was best to be done. Many proposed retiring with their families to the hills, but the majority were for treating with Shooja-ood-dowla, and it was finally agreed that Mohubbut Khan, accompanied by Abdool Futteh Khan, should proceed without delay to the Nuwab's camp.

Mahomed Zoolfikar Khan, who had been left in command of the fort of Bareilly, convened a meeting of the principal persons in the town, who also determined on sending a deputation to the conqueror. As Mahomed Zoolfikar Khan had been intimate with Saadut Ullee Khan, the son of the Vizier, he sent a messenger to request that Saadut Ullee would introduce him to his father; this was refused, and he was ordered to proceed to Colonel Champion's tent, but on his way thither he met the Suwaree of the Nuwab, who sent the eunuch Lutafut to conduct him to his own

tent, and to say that the Nuwab would receive his visit on the following morning. During the night Mohubbut Khan arrived from Pillibheet, and was conducted to the tent of Moorteza Khan Bahraitch. On the 12th of Suffur, a large force under the command of Seedee Busheer, an African, was dispatched towards Pillibheet. On the 13th Mohubbut Khan and Zoolfikar Khan, were admitted to the presence of Shooja-ood-dowla, who pretended to lament that he had been compelled to take up arms against their father, and assured them with a solemn oath that he would make a handsome provision for them. On concluding the conference, Shooja-ood-dowla offered to present them with khelats, but Mohubbut Khan requested that they might be presented at Pillibheet, whither the Nuwab proposed going in a few days. Shooja-ood-dowla then desired Mohubbut Khan to return, and to quiet the minds of the people at Pillibheet, while Zoolfikar Khan remained in camp.

When Mohubbut Khan reached the encampment of Seedee Busheer, he received an invitation to pass the night at his tent, but anxious to rejoin his family, he declined the honour: the invitation was however repeated, and Mohubbut Khan was informed that orders had been issued by the Nuwab to prevent his arrival at Pillibheet before the African; thus circumstanced, he was forced to comply, and on the following morning they entered Pillibheet together. On the 16th of Suffur, Shooja-ood-dowla also arrived, and encamped on the

the banks of the Dewa river; when an order was published, requiring all the troops of Hafiz to deliver up their horses and arms to Seedee Busheer, and to leave the town. As soon as this was done, the Nuwab called on Mohubbut Khan to point out the spot where the treasure of Hafiz was buried, to which Mohubbut answered, that his father had no treasure but the affection of his subjects. On the 18th, the Nuwab required the females of the family to deliver up all their ornaments to Seedee Busheer, and ordered the women to be removed to tents in his camp, in order that their apartments might be searched for the supposed treasure: after this, three companies of sepoys were placed over the tents ostensibly to protect them from thieves, but in reality to prevent any persons from escaping. In the evening he sent a message to Mohubbut Khan, purporting that indisposition had hitherto prevented him from receiving his visits, but that he hoped to be able to see him in a few days; his object was however accomplished, and he immediately commenced his march to Bissowlee.

Saadut Khan had gone from the field of battle to his house at Tanda, and from thence to Futteh-oolla Khan and Mohib-oolla Khan at Bissowlee; after some days they set out for Pillibheet, and fell in with the Nuwab's camp at Hafizgunje. Futteh-oolla Khan expected that he should obtain a large portion of Kutheir, or at least that his own pergunnahs would be confirmed to him,

but the Nuwab would not admit him for some time, and when he did obtain an audience, he was scarcely noticed. On quitting the tent, Saadut Khan was desired to remain with Salar Jung (to whose sister Shooja-ood-dowla was married), through whose intercession he avoided confinement.

Zoolfikar Khan, while he remained in the Nuwab's camp at Kuttra, received an invitation from Colonel Champion, who expressed his regret that the sons of Hafiz had not in the first instance applied to him, as they had no favour to expect from the Nuwab; and concluded by an assurance that he would address the governor in Calcutta on their behalf. The substance of this conversation was communicated to Shooja-ood-dowla, who to prevent a second conference, ordered Zoolfikar Khan to return to Bareilly.

On Shooja-ood-dowla's arrival at Bissowlee, Futteh-oolla Khan reminded him of the promises which he had made on entering Kutheir; but as the Nuwab never intended to fulfil those engagements, he put an end to remonstrances by confining both Futteh-oolla-Khan and Mohib-oolla Khan, and then confiscated their property; after which he proceeded to Lolldong, whither the remnant of the army had fled after the battle of Kuttra.

Moostukeem Khan, Abdool Jubar Khan, Ahmed Khan, Azum Khan, and Azeem Khan (sons of Futteh Khan Khonsuman), Mahomed Hussun Khan, Moolla

Meer Bâz Khan, Syfood-deen Khan, Shurf-ood-deen Khan, Mahomed Khan, and many other sirdars with their families had joined the troops at Lolldong; and finding that no hope remained of the arrival of any of the sons of Hafiz, they elected Fyzoolla Khan as their chief, and prepared to make such resistance as the nature of the country, and the thickness of the forest would admit of, trusting that in a short time the Nuwab's troops would be obliged to retire from such a climate.

Having dispatched Salar Jung with the whole of the family of Hafiz Rehmut to the fort of Allahabad, Shooja-ood-dowla reached Lolldong, and ordered his men to cut down the forest: but this was an endless task, and in the attempt he daily lost numbers of his troops. The Afghans repeatedly sallied out and attacked his posts, nor could he retaliate, as his men were ignorant of the paths in the woods. Sickness also began its ravages in his camp, and as the Nuwab himself was much indisposed, he proposed terms to the sirdars; but they insisted on the release of the family of Hafiz as a prelude to negociation, and a messenger was dispatched to recall Mohubbut Khan from Allahabad. In the mean time Fyzoolla Khan privately made proposals to Colonel Champion, and gave the sirdars to understand, that the Colonel would consult their interest, and insist on the release of the family of Hafiz; on which assurance they agreed to commit the business to his management.

Colonel Champion sent a servant to inform Fyzoolla Khan, that he would introduce him to the Nuwab, and Moostukeem Khan desired leave to accompany him; but Fyzoolla pretending that this might be merely a plan of the Nuwab's to seize his person and put him in confinement, as he had already done the sons of Hafiz, objected that it would be highly inexpedient for them both to put themselves in the Nuwab's power, as during his absence, Moostukeem Khan was the only person qualified to command the army. The Russaladars admitted the propriety of this remark, but demanded from Fyzoolla an oath, that he would make the release of Hafiz's family his first condition. Fyzoolla complied, and said that having obtained that point, he should then insist on the restoration of their respective jagheers, after which he would secure the best terms procurable for himself: but that failing in his first demand, he would return to camp. Moostukeem Khan suspected that Fyzoolla Khan would not adhere to his engagement, and privately sent a person to report what passed.

Fyzoolla Khan was introduced by Colonel Champion, when after the usual compliments, the Nuwab asked what terms he demanded, to which Fyzoolla answered that a jagheer yielding fifteen lacs of rupees per annum had been granted to him by Hafiz Rehmut, and that if the Nuwab would confirm that grant, he was ready to sign a treaty of peace. Colonel Champion observed,

that at his tent the first demand made was the release of Hafiz's family, and expressed his surprise at its omission now; but Fyzoolla said that he had nothing to do with them, and that the Nuwab might act towards them as he thought proper. A treaty was accordingly drawn out, whereby the Nuwab granted to Fyzoolla Khan a territory nominally yielding fifteen, but actually yielding twenty-five lacs of rupees (in which were included several pergunnahs of Hafiz Rehmut's jagheer, and the pergunnahs of Bilaspore, Ajoun, Thakoor-dwarra, and Réhur, which formed the jagheer of Doondée Khan), on condition that the camp should be broken up, that the troops should disperse, and that Fyzoolla should bring his forces into the field, whenever the Nuwab should be engaged in war. The treaty was dated 25th October 1774, and after receiving the signature of the parties, was witnessed by Colonel Champion. Fyzoolla Khan, on his return to camp, informed the sirdars that he had failed in his first demand, but had obtained every other, and that he would hereafter shew them the treaty. Moostukeem Khan abused him for his duplicity and ingratitude, but the majority rejoiced to be released from their present situation on any terms, and as Fyzoolla was liberal of his promises they accompanied him to Rampore.

Shooja-ood-dowla being seriously ill, hastened his return to Fyzabad, and on his route meeting Mohubbut Khan, took him in his suite. In a few days the Nuwab

finding his end draw nigh, sent for his son Mirza Amânce, commonly called Asoph-ool-dowla, and charged him not to release the family of Hafiz. The Nuwab died on the 23d of Zekâd 1188 Hejiree, corresponding with the month of January 1775, and was succeeded by his son Asoph-ool-dowla, who proposed sending back Mohubbut Khan to Allahabad, but was dissuaded from so unpopular a measure by his uncle Mirza Ullee Khan. He however stopped the allowance of one thousand rupees per month which had been made by his father to Mohubbut Khan, and even the paltry allowance of one hundred rupees per diem for the support of the families confined in the Fort of Allahabad was so irregularly paid, that they were not unfrequently in distress for food.

At this period, Mr. Bristow was appointed resident at Lucnow, with instructions to demand from the Nuwab, 1st. the cession of the province of Benares,[n] in consequence of his acquisition of the province of Kutheir, of which no share was given to his ally: 2d. to make provision for the payment of the troops who had been enlisted by the Nuwab's desire, and for his service; 3d. to set at liberty the family of Hafiz Rehmut, and to allot annually a handsome sum for their support.

The news of Shooja-ood-dowla's death reached Mr. Bristow at Patna; but Mr. Hastings, the governor, desired him to consider his instructions equally applicable to the Nuwab's successor, who, if he did not imme-

diately accede to the governor's demands, must be compelled to do so. Mr. Bristow joined the Nuwab's camp at Mehndee Ghaut, when Mohubbut Khan sent a confidential servant to make acquaintance with that gentleman's moonshee, Mahomed Zâkir, by whom Mohubbut Khan was, in a few days, introduced to the resident. Mr. Bristow received him and his brother, Zoolfikar Khan, with great kindness, desired them to repeat their visit without fear, as it was a part of his instructions to secure a suitable provision for their family, and sent them a present of five thousand rupees for their immediate expenses.

When the orders of the governor were made known to Asoph-ool-dowla, he at first positively refused to conform to them; but through the intervention of Mokhtiar-ood-dowlah, Syyud Moorteza Khan, he was at length prevailed on to give up the province of Benares, and to make provision for the payment of the troops—probably conceiving that, as the British government were not interested in the release of Hafiz's family, that point would be given up; but Mr. Bristow persevered in urging his demand, and informed the Nuwab, that if he determined to detain them, he had better give orders for the assembly of his troops, as the army at Cawnpore had received instructions to hold themselves in readiness to enforce the governor's orders. Mokhtiar-ood-dowlah was now convinced that Mr. Bristow would not be driven from his purpose, and he pointed out to

the Nuwab the folly of involving himself in a war with the English about a few individuals who could do him no harm, go where they would; and at length the Nuwab consented that an order should be dispatched to Syyud Mouzzuz Khan (brother of Mokhtiar-ood-dowlah), the soobuhdar of Allahabad, to release the whole family, who, in the month of Shâbân, in the year 1189 of the Hejiree, arrived at Lucnow.

After much discussion, the Nuwab agreed to grant an annual pension of one lac of rupees for the support of the families of Hafiz Rehmut Khan and Doondée Khan, in the proportion of sixty-five thousand rupees to the former, and thirty-five thousand rupees to the latter.

Futtéh-oolla and Mohib-oolla, the sons of Doondée Khan, joined the Nuwab Nedjif Khan at Delhi, in the hope that he would provide for them; but, being disappointed, they fixed their residence at Rampore, while the majority of Hafiz Rehmut's sons remained at Lucnow, subsisting on the small allowance procured for them by the British government.

When Fyzoolla Khan took possession of the territory granted to him by the treaty of Lolldong, he adopted every means in his power for increasing the cultivation, and in a few years so improved the country that the produce was treble, or perhaps quadruple the former amount. Being prudent in his expenditure, his coffers were well filled, and he was enabled to entertain a large proportion of the Afghans of Bareilly, Pillibheet,

Ownlah, &c., all of whom eagerly flocked to his standard. He secured the affections of his subjects and soldiery during a reign of twenty-one years* and some months: and died on the 19th of Zilhaije, in the year 1208 Hejiree (18th July, 1794), from a carbuncle on his back. He left eight sons, *viz.* Mahomed Ullee Khan, Hussun Ullee Khan, Futteh Ullee Khan, Gholam Mahomed Khan, Nizam Ullee Khan, Yakoob Ullee Khan, Kasim Ullee Khan, and Kureem-oolla Khan.

Mahomed Ullee Khan being the eldest son ascended the musnud, and he appointed his younger brother, Gholam Mahomed Khan, his deputy, with complete controul over the revenues and command of the troops. Mahomed Ullee Khan was naturally of a haughty, overbearing disposition, and from the time he ascended the musnud, he frequently permitted himself to make use of opprobrious language to persons of respectability, whose duty obliged them to attend on him. During his father's life, these ebullitions of passion were not unfrequent, but were of less importance: now every man of rank was in daily dread of being disgraced; and Omur Khan, with Nujjoo Khan and Mahomed Saeed Khan, proposed to Gholam Mahomed that he should depose his brother, and himself assume the government.

Tempted by the bait of power and wealth, Gholam Mahomed Khan acceded to the plot to murder his elder

* It is to be recollected that these are Mahomedan years of 354 days,

brother, and soon engaged the co-operation of the principal sirdars, of whom some joined willingly, from disgust at the conduct of their ruler, and others were tempted by a promise of large rewards. The plot did not escape the notice of some of the friends of Mahomed Ullee Khan, who mentioned it to him; but he was so inflated with ideas of his own consequence, that he disregarded every caution, and would generally answer in a harsh tone: "Gholamee is my son, how should he dare to plot against me?"

On the 16th day of the month of Mohurrum in the year 1209 of the Hejiree (corresponding with the 14th of August A.D. 1794), which was the twenty-eighth day of Mahomed Ullee Khan's reign, Gholam Mahomed with his party proceeded to the fort with the intent to seize and murder his brother, who was sitting in his deewân-khana, slightly attended.

As Gholam Mahomed approached the gate, a servant, named Nuttoo, in great agitation, announced to Mahomed Ullee Khan the advance of the hostile band, observing that there was yet time to close the gates against them: but Mahomed Ullee Khan was still so infatuated as to refuse credence to the tale; and, while abusing Nuttoo, Gholam Mahomed entered the room with the party of conspirators, on which all the attendants fled. Gholam Mahomed, with about five hundred men, now advanced to the chebootra, or raised terrace, and called on his brother to descend from the musnud, of which he was unworthy.

Mahomed Ullee Khan drew his sword, and made two or three cuts at Gholam Mahomed, which were warded off by the shields of his followers. Meanwhile, Mahomed Ullee received a severe wound on his back from Buhadoor Khan, and a cut on the arm, which compelled him to drop his sword; falling from loss of blood, he was conveyed to the inner apartments by Buhadoor Khan, his maternal uncle, and Gholam Mahomed took advantage of his absence to seat himself on the musnud, and receive the nuzzurs of his adherents: after which he distributed rewards to the conspirators; to some, cash from the treasury; to others, horses, elephants, &c.; and to Nujjoo Khan he gave his sister in marriage. Having settled these important affairs, Gholam Mahomed inquired the fate of his brother, and learning that Buhadoor Khan had taken him away, he sent Huzrut Noor Khan and Khizzur Khan with a party of soldiers to keep guard over him.

On the third day it was determined to remove Mahomed Ullee Khan to the fort of Doongurpore, in order to separate him from the females of his family, who had gathered around, on hearing that he was wounded, and whose presence rendered the intrusion of men improper. During two days the women would not consent to the removal of Mahomed Ullee Khan, but at length Gholam Mahomed bound himself by an oath to Syyud Hussun Shah (a man of reputed sanctity, highly esteemed by the family of Fyzoolla Khan,) to spare his brother's

life, and desired him to take a similar oath to the women, alleging as an excuse for his removal, the necessity of medical aid, and adding, that if persuasion failed, force should be resorted to. Syyud Hussun Shah did as he was desired, and pointed out to the Begums the folly of a resistance which could be of no avail to Mahomed Ullee Khan, and would inevitably cause their disgrace. Under these circumstances the removal took place, Huzrut Noor Khan and Khizzur Khan escorting the litter to Doongurpore. For some days surgeons attended, ostensibly for the cure of the Nuwab's wounds, but a letter having been received from the Nuwab Vizier Asoph-ool-dowla, requiring Gholam Mahomed to send his brother to Lucnow without delay, and threatening vengeance if the order were not obeyed, the conspirators decided on putting Mahomed Ullee Khan to death; and accordingly Ahmed Khan shot him while he slept. An inquest was then prepared, which all the principal persons were compelled to sign, purporting that Mahomed Ullee Khan, in a fit of delirium, had destroyed himself; and this document was enclosed to the Nuwab Vizier.

On hearing of this wanton murder, the Nuwab Asoph-ool-dowla with his forces, attended by Mr. Cherry, the resident, marched from Lucnow, and at the same time the British troops, consisting of eight battalions and five-hundred horse, under General Abercrombie, advanced from Futtehgurh, proceeding by forced marches

to the bridge over the Sunka river, which is about four koss north of Bareilly, where it was intended to await the junction of the Lucnow troops.

Gholam Mahomed Khan, finding that no hope remained of obtaining his pardon, opened the treasury, distributed freely to his followers, engaged every person who offered to enlist in his service, and in a little time collected around him a rabble of 25,000 men, with whom he proposed to march to Bareilly, and make the Nuwab's country the seat of war. In two marches he reached Milik, and on the third day arrived at Meergunje. On the fourth morning, the writer of this narrative was sitting with General Abercrombie, when a hurkarru brought intelligence of the enemy's horse being only three koss distant, on the opposite bank of the Dojoora river. On the 2d of Rubbee-oos-sanee, in the year 1209 of the Hejiree, (corresponding with the 28th of October A.D. 1794) Gholam Mahomed crossed the river, and took up a position, with the village of Bithowra in his rear. Four battalions and five hundred horse, under the command of Colonel Burrington, who were posted on the north side of the bridge, were attacked by the enemy; the Afghan horse, under Nujjoo Khan, Omur Khan, and Bulund Khan, directing their force on the left wing. Colonel Burrington ordered the cavalry to advance in front of the infantry, to skirmish with the enemy, and then retreating on the battalions, to draw the Afghans within range of the guns. This was

accordingly done; but five or six thousand of the enemy's horse charged so rapidly that they overtook the British cavalry, who, thus rudely attacked by such an overwhelming force, fled in reality; but neglecting to file off to the right and left, no opening was left for the play of the guns. As soon as the Afghan horse were within musket shot, a destructive fire was opened on them, and many who had penetrated the infantry ranks were bayonetted. About three thousand of the Afghan infantry had followed the horse, and the action thus became general. Colonel Burrington, Colonel Bolton, and another Colonel, with several officers of inferior note, were among the slain. Gholam Mahomed Khan mounted on an elephant, and surrounded by about five thousand foot, looked on from an eminence (where now stands the tomb of the officers who fell in the action), and perceiving that a few hundred of his men still kept the field, beat his drum for a victory, but was soon undeceived regarding the result of the action; for the cavalry under Dillér Khan were mowed down by the artillery of General Abercrombie. Nujjoo Khan, Bulund Khan, Nuseem Khan, and several other Russaladars were killed; and Omur Khan being wounded, the rest quitted the field. Gholam Mahomed, without making one attempt to save the day, by leading on the troops under his own immediate command, dismounted from his elephant, selected the fleetest of his horses, and rode to Rampore. General Abercrombie pursued the fugitives to the Dojoora river, encamped his

army, and halted a day, to afford leisure for the interment of the dead.

The soldiers of Simboonath, the Nazim of Bareilly, cut off the heads of Nujjoo Khan, Bulund Khan, and Nuseem Khan, and carried them to their master, who dispatched them to the Nuwab Vizier, then in camp at Tissooa. On the following day Mr. Cherry joined General Abercrombie, and the Nuwab arrived at Bareilly, whence his Excellency's army proceeded to Meergunje, and joined the British troops.

It was ascertained that Gholam Mahomed Khan, with his family, had fled to Futtachore, leaving in Rampore Ahmed Ullee Khan, the infant son of Mahomed Ullee Khan; sentinels were therefore placed to guard the town. Support and protection was promised to the youthful heir and the Begums of the deceased Nawab, and the army then pursued Gholam Mahomed.

The combined forces marched to Tanda, Thakoordwara, Rehur, Putta, and encamped within a koss of Futtachore. Gholam Mahomed Khan had sent his vakeels to Rampore, to solicit his pardon; and at this encampment Syd Khan and Laljeemul again waited on Mr. Cherry, who said, that if their master expected any favour, he must attend in person, and throw himself on the mercy of General Abercrombie and the Vizier; but that he never would be allowed to rule at Rampore. On receiving this answer, his principal advisers, Omur Khan, Sunnoo Khan (brother of Nujjoo Khan), Dillér Khan,

Mahomed Saeed Khan, Mahomed Hussun Khan, and others, recommended his adopting this measure; but the soldiers were bent on war, and urged that at the foot of the hills, in the midst of a forest, the discipline of the British troops would be of no avail; that they, as well from their numbers as from their knowledge of the paths in the forest, would have a great advantage over their opponents; that, if they were successful, an advantageous treaty might be concluded; and if otherwise, Gholam Mahomed could but surrender at the last. He, however, had seen enough of the cowardice of his men not to place any reliance on them, and therefore wrote to Mr. Cherry that he would wait on him on the following day; which he accordingly did, attended only by Omur Khan, Sunnoo Khan, Saeed Khan, and about fifty followers.

General Abercrombie allotted a tent for his accommodation, and appointed a battalion to guard him. He was required by Mr. Cherry to send for the treasure of the deceased Nuwab: to which he objected, that the soldiers would not resign it unless he went in person; but was told to send his sirdars. These officers accordingly proceeded to Futtachore, and made known their demand to Nusur-oolla Khan, to whose charge the treasure was entrusted; but he refused to give it up unless a stipulation were made for the payment of the troops; and when, after three days' negociation, his consent was obtained, the men interfered, and prevented its removal.

Nusur-oolla Khan privately suggested to Mr. Cherry, the expediency of removing Gholam Mahomed Khan, and sending for Ahmed Ullee Khan from Rampore, urging that so long as Gholam Mahomed remained at hand, the troops would adhere to his interest; accordingly, on the ninth day from his arrival at Futtachore, Gholam Mahomed was dispatched towards Benares under charge of a battalion and three hundred cavalry: and Ahmed Ullee Khan arrived in camp. The troops still persisted in their refusal to relinquish the treasure, and after fifteen days, it was agreed that their arrears should be paid. On the twenty-ninth day after their arrival at Putta, peace was concluded, and General Abercrombrie with the Nuwab Vizier returned *viâ* Rampore to Bareilly, where the final arrangement was made. One half of the territory held by the late Fyzoolla Khan was taken by the Nuwab, and the remainder was confirmed to Ahmed Ullee Khan; but as he was then only seven years of age, his maternal uncle Nusur-oolla Khan was appointed regent for a term of twelve years, with a salary of forty thousand rupees per annum. To the three elder sons of Fyzoolla Khan, *viz.* Hussun Ullee Khan, Futteh Ullee Khan, and Nizam Ullee Khan, was allotted each an annual stipend of twenty-four thousand rupees; to each of the three younger sons twenty thousand, and to Gholam Mahomed Khan eighteen thousand.

On Gholam Mahomed's arrival at Benares, all his pro-

perty was restored to him, and a house was assigned for his residence. In a few months, Mr. Cherry was removed from Lucnow to Benares, when Gholam Mahomed requested permission to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, and was allowed to do so: he accordingly hired a vessel in Calcutta, visited Mecca and Medina, returned to Bombay, and marched to Jyepore, where he was kindly received by the Rajah, who made him an offer of the Shékhowatee country, yielding three lacs of rupees per annum. To take possession of this country, Gholam Mahomed summoned five hundred Afghans from Rampore, but the Rajah broke his promise, and Gholam Mahomed in distress went to Nagore, Bikaneer, Bawulpore, Mooltan, and Peshâwur, at which latter place above one hundred of his followers died from the intense cold. From thence he proceeded by the route of Khybur and Jelolabad to Cabool, and being admitted to an interview with the king solicited his aid. His Majesty answered that he had already employment enough with his own subjects, but a royal firmân was addressed to the Nuwab Vizier and to the British government, directing that he should be restored to the musnud: with this document he returned to Hindoostan, but on reaching Nadoun, he heard of the death of Asoph-ool-dowla, and despairing of success fixed his abode there, where he still continues to receive his annual stipend of eighteen thousand rupees.

Nusur-oolla Khan continued regent till his death in

the month of Shuwal 1225 Hejiree (corresponding with October 1810), a period of sixteen years; for Ahmed Ullee Khan was so dissipated a character, that he could not be prevailed on to attend to business. Hukeem Gholam Hoossein succeeded Nusur-oolla Khan, but in a few months he resisgned in disgust, and Ahmed Ullee Khan then assumed the reins of government.

NOTES.

Note (*a*), page 5.

It is extraordinary that the Afghâns, who in common with all Mahomedans, despise the Jews, should yet trace their descent from that people. The person named Kys Abdool-rasheed is supposed to have been the first Afghan convert to Mahomedanism; and the following is his pedigree, as given by the author of the Kholasut-ool-insab.

Kys, Abd-ool-rasheed bin Eesa, bin Salool, bin Otba, bin Naeem, bin Morra, bin Kulundur, bin Sikundur, bin Rehmân, bin Ain, bin Muhlool, bin Salem, bin Selah, bin Farood, bin Jehan, bin Phalool, bin Ikram, bin Amâl, bin Hadeefa, bin Minhâl, bin Kys, bin Alim, bin Samuel, bin Haroon, bin Kumrood, bin Abi, bin Zaleeb, bin Tullal, bin Levi, bin Aumil, bin Tarej, bin Arzooud, bin Mundul, bin Suleem, bin Afghana, bin Armeea, bin Sarool (commonly called Mullik Taloot), bin Kys, bin Otba, bin Eesa, bin Ruel, bin Yihooda, bin Yakoob Israeel, bin Ishâk, bin Ibraheem, bin Térukh, bin Nahor, bin Sarukh, bin Mulik, bin Methuselah, bin Idris, bin Yezd, bin Mahaleel, bin Ainush, bin Shesh, bin Adam.

Note (*b*), page 40.

The Mahomedan law does not sanction slavery, except the persons be Hubéshee (natives of Abyssinia, Hubésh), or infidels taken in battle; but almost every person of fortune has one or more Chélas, who though employed as servants, are considered as adopted children; they are generally treated with great kindness, and not unfrequently share the property of their patrons.

The grand difference between a Chéla and a Gholâm (slave), consists in the entire liberty of the former to quit his patron; though to do so, is considered disgraceful, and the instances are rare—even an African, on embracing the faith of Islâm, can no longer be held in slavery.

The foregoing remarks apply only to Mahomedan law; by the British code in force in India, the importation of slaves from any quarter is illegal, though domestic slavery (if such a term can be applied to the persons employed in the zenanas, and to whose charge the whole wealth of the family is entrusted) still exists.

Note (*c*), page 47.

It does not appear from the history, that Javeid Khan could have done more for Suldur Jung than supply him with guns and ammunition.

as the king's known attachment to the family of Mahomed Khan Bungish, is a sufficient reason for the refusal of the royal troops; and I am inclined to think with Colonel Dow, that jealousy of the Eunuch's influence at court induced Sufdur Jung to commit the murder.

Note (*d*), page 49.

The author would give us to understand that Nujeeb Khan's bravery obliged Sufdur Jung to retire to Oude, but the fact is, that the new Vizier Imâdool-moolk attacked Sufdur Jung in the month of Rejjib 1166 Hejiree. The armies were opposed to each other for six months without any decisive blow being struck; and the King, to rid himself of Sufdur Jung, granted him a new sunnud for the provinces of Oude and Allahabad, on receipt of which he left Delhi in the month of Mohurrum, 1167 Hejiree.

Note (*d*), page 81.

I have translated the whole of this story, exactly as related by the historian, though we know that Sooraj-ood-dowla had escaped from Moorshedabad before Jaffier Ullee Khan was placed on the musnud, that he was taken prisoner at Rajemahl, and was subsequently put to death at Moorshedabad by order of Meerun.

Note (*e*), page 82.

This probably alludes to the attack made on the 3d of May 1764.

Note (*f*), page 82.

Shooja-ood-dowla, before he left Patna, proposed terms; and the English demanded the surrender of a German named Reinhard, (but more commonly called from his gloomy countenance "Sombre,") and about two hundred European deserters; but the Vizier's sole object was to gain time to recruit his army, and to tamper with Jaffier Ullee Khan, whom he hoped by means of Nundcomar to bring over to his cause.

Note (*g*,) page 85.

This battle was fought on the 23d of October 1764. The English army consisted of 857 Europeans, and 6,215 sepoys; of whom 101 Europeans and 773 sepoys were killed or wounded. 133 pieces of cannon were captured.

Note (*h*), page 85.

Col. Munro led the English army to Benares, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Major Fletcher, who sent one division of the army under Major Hibbert to invest the fort of Chunar, after taking which he entered Oude, while Major Fletcher with another division subdued the Allahabad district.

Note (*i*), page 86.

This battle was fought by General Carnac in May 1765, and a second action took place at Akberpore in the latter end of the same year, when the Mahrattas entirely quitted the province of Allahabad.

Note (*k*), page 87.

By this treaty, which under instructions from Lord Clive, was signed at Allahabad in August 1765 by General Carnac, the Nuwab ceded Chunar to the English, Corah and Allahabad to the King, and confirmed Rajah Bulwunt Sing in the Zemindarree of Benares.

Note (*j*), page 95.

This was in 1771, and by a treaty concluded at Benares 7th September 1773, the pergunnahs of Corah, Currah, and Allahabad, which by the treaty of 16th August 1765 had been given to Shah Alum, were restored to the Vizier on his paying 50 lacs of rupees to the British government.

Note (*l*), page 116, line 25.

It is well known that Colonel George, who commanded the artillery, observing a person particularly conspicuous in the action, levelled a 6-pounder at him, and shot him through the body: it was afterwards discovered to have been Hafiz.

The historian relates that Hafiz was visited by an unknown Derveish, who told him that he might choose whether he would be victorious over his enemies, or be defeated, and become a saint—and that he chose the latter, saying that the world had no charms for him. He adds, that this circumstance occurring at such a time, made him careless in his preparations to meet the enemy, and induced him to reject the propositions of the Surdars for entrenching his camp at Kuttra.

Note (*n*), page 128.

In 1773, the province of Benares had been confirmed to Cheyt Sing, the son and successor of Bulwunt Sing, but Shooja-ood-dowla was so much offended at the interference of the British Government in behalf of his vassal, that had he not required their aid against Hafiz Rehmut, he would not have consented to such a measure.

ERRATA.

In page 88, note, *for* "two miles and a half," *read* "seven miles and a half."

In page 40, line 18, for "Child," read "Chéla."

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This volume will contain Mr W B Hodgson's translation of a Journey into the Interior of Northern Africa, Dr. B G Babington's translation of a Tamul collection of Tales, Major Price's Translation of an account of the last days of Crishna, &c. &c

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LIST OF TRANSLATIONS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

Class 1st.—Theology, Ethics, and Metaphysics.

The Sepher Jasher; translated by the Rev. W. Adam.

This work, although of doubtful authenticity, is very interesting as furnishing many elucidations of Sacred History from the Creation to the time of the Judges It is written in very pure and beautiful Hebrew, and is highly valued by the Jews in Poland, &c.

The Sánc'hya Cárica, translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.

This Sanscrit work contains, in seventy-two stanzas, the principles of the Sánc'hya System of Metaphysical Philosophy.

The Akhlak-e-Naseri of Naser-ud-Din of Tus in Bucharia, translated by the Rev. H. G. Keene, A.M.

This Persian system of Ethics is an elaborate composition formed on Greek models, and is very highly esteemed in Persia.

A Collation of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament, both Nestorian and Jacobite, that are accessible in England, by the Rev. Professor Lee.

This collation will include the various readings of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament in the British Museum, and the Libraries at Oxford, Cambridge, &c.

The Didascalia, or Apostolical Constitutions of the Abyssinian Church; translated by T. P. Platt, Esq. A.M.

This ancient Ethiopic work is unknown in Europe, and contains many very curious opinions.

Class 2nd.—History, Geography, and Travels.

The Seir Mutakherin of Seyyid Gholâm Husein Khan; translated by Lieut. Col. John Briggs.

This celebrated Persian work comprises the annals of Hindûstân from the time of the Emperor Aurungzebe to the administration of Warren Hastings in Bengal.

Sheref Nameh; translated by Professor Charmoy.

This is a Persian History of the Dynasties which have governed in Kurdistan, written by Sheref Ibn Shems ud Din, at the close of the sixteenth century.

The History of Mazenderan and Tabaristan; translated by Professor Charmoy.

This is a Persian History of part of the Persian empire, written by Zaher ud Din, and comes down to A.D. 1475.

The Tareki Afghan; translated by Dr. Bernhard Dorn. Part II.

This is a Persian History of the Afghans, who claim to be descended from the Jews. It will be accompanied by an account of the Afghan tribes.

The Annals of Elias, Metropolitan of Nisibis; translated by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, A.M.

This Syriac Chronicle contains chronological tables of the principal dynasties of the world, brief memoirs of the Patriarchs of the Nestorian church, and notices of the most remarkable events in the East, from the birth of our Saviour to the beginning of the eleventh century.

Ibn Haukul's Geography; translated by Professor Hamaker.

This Arabic work was compiled in the 10th century by a celebrated Mohammedan Traveller, and is not the same as the Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal that was translated by Sir William Ouseley.

Naima's Annals; translated by Charles Fraser, Esq.

This Turkish History comprises the period between 1622 and 1692, and includes accounts of the Turkish invasion of Germany, the sieges of Buda, Vienna, &c.

The Tung hwa loo; translated by Mr. William Huttmann.

This is a Chinese History of the first three Emperors of the Tartar dynasty, that now governs China. It is very scarce though not being allowed to be printed in China.

The Chronicle of Abulfath Ibn Abulhasan Alsamou; translated by the Rev. T. Jarrett, A.M.

This rare Arabic work, of which only one perfect copy is known to be in Europe, is a History of the Samaritans from the creation to the middle of the 14th century.

The Asseba as Syar of Syed Mohammed Reza; translated by Mirza Alexander Kazem Beg.

This is a Turkish History of the Khans of the Crimea, written about A.D. 1740, and contains many interesting particulars relating to Turkey, Russia, Poland, and Germany.

A Description of Tibet; translated by Monsieur Jules de Klaproth.

This will consist of extracts from various Chinese and Mandchu works, forming a complete account of Tibet, and of the Buddhic religion, of which it is the principal seat.

The San kokf tsu ran; translated by Monsieur Jules de Klaproth.

This Japanese work is a description of Loo-Choo, Corea, and Jesso, with Maps and Plates: it was written in 1785.

Ibn Khaldun's History of the Berbers, translated by the Rev. Professor Lee.

This is a rare and valuable Arabic work containing an account of the origin, progress and decline of the dynasties which governed the northern coast of Africa

Ibn Koteiba's History of the Arabians, translated by Dr J. H. Moller.

This celebrated work contains the History of the Arabians from the time of Ishmael the son of Abraham to near the end of the third century of the Mahommedan, or the 9th of the Christian æra

The great Geographical Work of Idrisi, translated by the Rev. G C. Renouard, B D.

This Arabic work was written A D 1153, to illustrate a large silver globe made for Roger, King of Sicily, and is divided into the seven climates described by the Greek geographers.

Makrisi s Khîtat, or History and Statistics of Egypt, translated by Abraham Salamé, Esq

This Arabic work includes accounts of the conquest of Egypt by the Caliphs, A D 640, and of the cities, rivers, ancient and modern inhabitants of Egypt, &c.

Part of Mirkhond's Ruzet-as Suffa, translated by David Shea, Esq

The part of this Persian work selected for publication is that which contains the History of Persia from Kaiomurs to the death of Alexander the Great

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Class 3rd —Bibliography, Belles Lettres, and Biography.

The San kwo che, translated by J. F. Davis, Esq

This very popular historical romance is founded on the civil wars that raged in China in the third century, and is reckoned quite a model of Chinese style

Haji Khalfa's Bibliographical Dictionary, translated by Monsieur Gustave Fluegel.

This valuable Arabic work was written by the celebrated Kateb Chelebi al Marhoom, and contains accounts of above 13 000 Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works, arranged alphabetically

Heft Peikor, an historical Romance of Behram Gur, translated by the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.

This Persian Poem of Nizami of Ganjah, contains the romantic history of Behrám, the Vth of the Sassanian dynasty of Persian kings

Meher va Mushteri, translated by the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.

This Persian Poem, of which an abridgment will be published was composed by Muhammed Assár, and celebrates the friendship and adventures of Meher and Mushteri, the sons of King Shapur and his Grand Vizier

Ibn Khallikan's Lives of Illustrious Men, translated by Dr. F A Rosen.

This is an Arabic Biographical Dictionary, arranged alphabetically, of the most celebrated Arabian historians, poets warriors, &c who lived in the seven first centuries of the æra of Mahommed, A D 600 to A D 1300

The Bustan of Sadi, translated by James Ross, Esq., A M

This is a much admired Persian Poem, consisting of Tales, &c. illustrative of moral duties.

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